

Mediscare Is Back By Joe Klein / Shinzo Abe's Plan / *Adventure Time!*

# TIME

## FINDING GOD IN THE DARK

Beyond enlightenment: Acclaimed preacher Barbara Brown Taylor argues that strength, purpose and true faith are found in the shadows *By Elizabeth Díaz*

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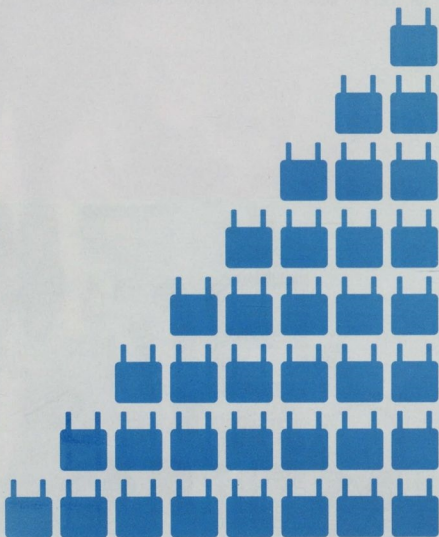


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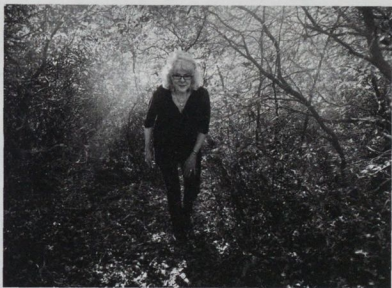
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Ladefoged—VII

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# Your body was made for better things than RA.

## Discover XELJANZ®

**XELJANZ is a prescription medicine for adults with moderate to severe rheumatoid arthritis for whom methotrexate did not work well.**

XELJANZ can reduce the joint pain and swelling of RA, even without methotrexate.

Visit [XELJANZ.com](http://XELJANZ.com) to learn more.

### ASK YOUR RHEUMATOLOGIST IF XELJANZ IS RIGHT FOR YOU

#### What is XELJANZ?

XELJANZ is a prescription medicine called a Janus kinase (JAK) inhibitor. XELJANZ is used to treat adults with moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis in which methotrexate did not work well.

- It is not known if XELJANZ is safe and effective in people with Hepatitis B or C.
- XELJANZ is not for people with severe liver problems.
- It is not known if XELJANZ is safe and effective in children.

#### IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

##### What is the most important information to know about XELJANZ?

**Serious infections.** XELJANZ can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Some people have serious infections while taking XELJANZ, including tuberculosis (TB), and infections caused by bacteria, fungi, or viruses that can spread throughout the body. Some people have died from these infections. Your healthcare provider should test you for TB before starting XELJANZ, and monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB infection during treatment. You should not start taking XELJANZ if you have any kind of infection unless your healthcare provider tells you it is okay.

**Cancer and immune system problems.** XELJANZ may increase your risk of certain cancers by changing the way your immune system works. Lymphoma and other cancers can happen in patients taking XELJANZ.

Some people who have taken XELJANZ with certain other medicines to prevent kidney transplant rejection have had a problem with certain white blood cells growing out of control (Epstein Barr Virus-associated post transplant lymphoproliferative disorder).

**Tears (perforation) in the stomach or intestines.** Some people taking XELJANZ get tears in their stomach or intestine. This happens most often in people who also take nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs), corticosteroids, or methotrexate. Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have fever and stomach-area pain that does not go away, and a change in your bowel habits.

**Changes in lab test results.** Your healthcare provider should do blood tests before you start receiving XELJANZ, and at certain times while you are taking XELJANZ, to check for the following side effects:

- **changes in lymphocyte counts.** Lymphocytes are white blood cells that help the body fight off infections.
- **low neutrophil counts.** Neutrophils are white blood cells that help the body fight off infections.
- **low red blood cell count.** This may mean that you have anemia, which may make you feel weak and tired.

Your healthcare provider should also routinely check certain liver tests. You should not receive XELJANZ if your lymphocyte count, neutrophil count, or red blood cell count is too low or your liver tests are too high. Your healthcare provider may stop your XELJANZ treatment for a period of time if needed because of changes in these blood test results. Your healthcare provider should do blood tests to check your cholesterol levels 4-8 weeks after you start XELJANZ, and as needed after that.

#### Before taking XELJANZ, tell your healthcare provider if you:

- think you have an infection or have symptoms of an infection such as fever, sweating, or chills; muscle aches; cough; shortness of breath; blood in phlegm; weight loss; warm, red, or painful skin or sores on your body; diarrhea or stomach pain; burning when you urinate or urinating more often than normal; or feeling very tired
- are being treated for an infection
- get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back
- have diabetes, HIV, or a weak immune system. People with these conditions have a higher chance for infections.
- have TB, or have been in close contact with someone with TB
- live or have lived in, or have traveled to certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys and the Southwest) where there is an increased chance for getting certain kinds of fungal infections (histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, or blastomycosis). These infections may happen or become more severe if you use XELJANZ. Ask your healthcare provider if you do not know if you have





- lived in an area where these infections are common.
- have or have had hepatitis B or C or liver problems
  - have ever had any type of cancer
  - have kidney problems
  - have any stomach area (abdominal) pain or been diagnosed with diverticulitis (inflammation in parts of the large intestine) or ulcers in your stomach or intestines
  - have had a reaction to tofacitinib or any of the ingredients in XELJANZ
  - have recently received or are scheduled to receive a vaccine. People taking XELJANZ should not receive live vaccines but can receive non-live vaccines.
  - have any other medical conditions
  - plan to become pregnant or are pregnant. It is not known if XELJANZ will harm an unborn baby.
- Pregnancy Registry: Pfizer has a registry for pregnant women who take XELJANZ. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her baby. If you are pregnant or become pregnant while taking XELJANZ, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can join this pregnancy registry or you may contact the registry at 1-877-311-8972 to enroll.
- plan to breastfeed or are breastfeeding
- After starting XELJANZ, call your healthcare provider right away if you have any symptoms of an infection. XELJANZ can make you more likely to get infections or make worse any infection that you have.

**Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, especially any other medicines to treat your rheumatoid arthritis.** You should not take tocilizumab (Actemra®), etanercept (Enbrel®), adalimumab (Humira®), infliximab (Remicade®), rituximab (Rituxan®), abatacept (Orencia®), anakinra (Kineret®), certolizumab (Cimzia®), golimumab (Simponi®), azathioprine, cyclosporine, or other immunosuppressive drugs while you are taking XELJANZ. Taking XELJANZ with these medicines may increase your risk of infection.

- Tell your healthcare provider if you are taking medicines that affect the way certain liver enzymes work. Ask your healthcare provider if you are not sure if your medicine is one of these.

#### **What are other possible side effects of XELJANZ?**

XELJANZ may cause serious side effects including hepatitis B or C activation infection in people who carry the virus in their blood. If you are a carrier of the hepatitis B or C virus (viruses that affect the liver), the virus may become active while you use XELJANZ. Tell your healthcare provider if you have the following symptoms of a possible hepatitis B or C infection: feeling very tired, skin or eyes look yellow, little or no appetite, vomiting, clay-colored bowel movements, fevers, chills, stomach discomfort, muscle aches, dark urine, and skin rash.

Common side effects of XELJANZ include: upper respiratory tract infections (common cold, sinus infections), headache, diarrhea, and nasal congestion, sore throat, and runny nose (nasopharyngitis).

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch) or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

**Please see additional Patient Information on the following page.**

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**XELJANZ®**   
[tofacitinib citrate]  
5mg tablets

**One pill. Twice daily.**



Read the Medication Guide that comes with XELJANZ before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This brief summary does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment.

**What is the most important information I should know about XELJANZ?**  
**XELJANZ may cause serious side effects including:**

**1. Serious infections.**

XELJANZ is a medicine that affects your immune system. XELJANZ can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Some people have serious infections while taking XELJANZ, including tuberculosis (TB), and infections caused by bacteria, fungi, or viruses that can spread throughout the body. Some people have died from these infections.

- Your healthcare provider should test you for TB before starting XELJANZ.
- Your healthcare provider should monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB infection during treatment with XELJANZ.

You should not start taking XELJANZ if you have any kind of infection unless your healthcare provider tells you it is okay.

Before starting XELJANZ, tell your healthcare provider if you:

- think you have an infection or have symptoms of an infection such as:
  - fever, sweating, or chills
  - muscle aches
  - cough
  - shortness of breath
  - blood in phlegm
  - weight loss
  - warm, red, or painful skin sores on your body
  - diarrhea or stomach pain
  - burning when you urinate or urinating more often than normal
  - feeling very tired

- are being treated for an infection

get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back

- have diabetes, HIV, or a weak immune system. People with these conditions have a higher chance for infections.

- have TB, or have been in close contact with someone with TB
- live or have lived, or have traveled to certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys and the Southwest) where there is an increased chance for getting certain kinds of fungal infections (histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, or blastomycosis). These infections may happen or become more severe if you use XELJANZ. Ask your healthcare provider if you do not know if you have lived in an area where these infections are common.
- have or have had hepatitis B or C

After starting XELJANZ, call your healthcare provider right away if you have any symptoms of an infection. XELJANZ can make you more likely to get infections or make worse any infection that you have.

**2. Cancer and immune system problems.**

XELJANZ may increase your risk of certain cancers by changing the way your immune system works.

- Lymphoma and other cancers can happen in patients taking XELJANZ. Tell your healthcare provider if you have ever had any type of cancer.
- Some people who have taken XELJANZ with certain other medicines to prevent kidney transplant rejection have had a problem with certain white blood cells growing out of control (Epstein Barr Virus-associated post transplant lymphoproliferative disorder).

**3. Tears (perforation) in the stomach or intestines.**

To tell your healthcare provider if you have had diverticulitis (inflammation in parts of the large intestine) or ulcers in your stomach or intestines. Some people taking XELJANZ get tears in their stomach or intestine. This happens most often in people who also take nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs), corticosteroids, or methotrexate.

- Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have fever and stomach-area pain that does not go away, and a change in your bowel habits.

**4. Changes in certain laboratory test results.**

Your healthcare provider should do blood tests before you start receiving XELJANZ and while you take XELJANZ to check for the following side effects:

- **changes in lymphocyte counts.** Lymphocytes are white blood cells that help the body fight off infections.
- **low neutrophil counts.** Neutrophils are white blood cells that help the body fight off infections.
- **low red blood cell count.** This may mean that you have anemia, which may make you feel weak and tired.

Your healthcare provider should routinely check certain liver tests.

You should not receive XELJANZ if your lymphocyte count, neutrophil count, or red blood cell count is too low or your liver tests are too high.

Your healthcare provider may stop your XELJANZ treatment for a period of time if needed because of changes in these blood test results.

You may also have changes in other laboratory tests, such as your blood cholesterol levels. Your healthcare provider should do blood tests to check your cholesterol levels 4 to 8 weeks after you start receiving XELJANZ, and as needed after that. Normal cholesterol levels are important to good heart health.

See "What are the possible side effects of XELJANZ?" for more information about side effects.

**What is XELJANZ?**

XELJANZ is a prescription medicine called a Janus kinase (JAK) inhibitor. XELJANZ is used to treat adults with moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis in which methotrexate did not work well.

It is not known if XELJANZ is safe and effective in people with Hepatitis B or C.

XELJANZ is not for people with severe liver problems.

It is not known if XELJANZ is safe and effective in children.

**What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking XELJANZ?**

**XELJANZ may not be right for you. Before taking XELJANZ, tell your healthcare provider if you:**

- have an infection. See "What is the most important information I should know about XELJANZ?"
- have liver problems
- have kidney problems
- have any stomach area (abdominal) pain or been diagnosed with diverticulitis or ulcers in your stomach or intestines
- have had a reaction to tofacitinib or any of the ingredients in XELJANZ
- have recently received or are scheduled to receive a vaccine. People who take XELJANZ should not receive live vaccines. People taking XELJANZ can receive non-live vaccines.
- have any other medical conditions
- plan to become pregnant or are pregnant. It is not known if XELJANZ will harm an unborn baby.

**Pregnancy Registry:** Pfizer has a registry for pregnant women who take XELJANZ. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her baby.

If you are pregnant or become pregnant while taking XELJANZ, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can join this pregnancy registry or you may contact the registry at 1-877-311-8972 to enroll.

- plan to breastfeed or are breastfeeding. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take XELJANZ or breastfeed. You should not do both.

**Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take,** including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. XELJANZ and other medicines may affect each other causing side effects.

Especially tell your healthcare provider if you take:

- any other medicines to treat your rheumatoid arthritis. You should not take tocilizumab (Actemra®), etanercept (Enbrel®), adalimumab (Humira®), infliximab (Remicade®), rituximab (Rituxan®), abatacept (Orencia®), anakinra (Kineret®), certolizumab (Cimzia®), golimumab (Simponi®), azathioprine, cyclosporine, or other immunosuppressive drugs while you are taking XELJANZ. Taking XELJANZ with these medicines may increase your risk of infection.
- medicines that affect the way certain liver enzymes work. Ask your healthcare provider if you are not sure if your medicine is one of these.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

**How should I take XELJANZ?**

- Take XELJANZ as your healthcare provider tells you to take it.
- Take XELJANZ 2 times a day with or without food.
- If you take too much XELJANZ, call your healthcare provider or go to the nearest hospital emergency room right away.

**What are possible side effects of XELJANZ?**

**XELJANZ may cause serious side effects, including:**

- See "What is the most important information I should know about XELJANZ?"

**Hepatitis B or C activation infection in people who carry the virus in their blood.**

If you are a carrier of the hepatitis B or C virus (viruses that affect the liver), the virus may become active while you take XELJANZ. Your healthcare provider may do blood tests before you start treatment with XELJANZ and while you are using XELJANZ. Tell your healthcare provider if you have any of the following symptoms of a possible hepatitis B or C infection:

- feel very tired
- skin or eyes look yellow
- little or no appetite
- vomiting
- clay-colored bowel movements
- fevers
- chills
- stomach discomfort
- muscle aches
- dark urine
- skin rash

**Common side effects of XELJANZ include:**

- upper respiratory tract infections (common cold, sinus infections)
- headache
- diarrhea
- nasal congestion, sore throat, and runny nose (nasopharyngitis)

Tell your healthcare provider if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the possible side effects of XELJANZ. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

**Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.**

**You may also report side effects to Pfizer at 1-800-438-1985.**

**General information about the safe and effective use of XELJANZ.**

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a brief summary. Do not use XELJANZ for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give XELJANZ to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

This brief summary summarizes the most important information about XELJANZ. If you would like more information, talk to your healthcare provider. You can ask your pharmacist or healthcare provider for information about XELJANZ that is written for health professionals.

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# Editor's Desk

## A New Day in Japan



DRIVING AROUND TOKYO, THROUGH shiny streets thick with shoppers, you have to remind yourself that the world's third largest economy has been gasping for air for years. It is one of history's great puzzles, how a country could arise from defeat in a world war and build an economy so muscular that it was the envy of the world, only to stagger and then stall as rivals like China and South Korea surged. It did not help that Japan's political leaders were so weightless that they were treated as disposable, or that many companies viewed individual risk taking as recklessness, or that half the nation's talent pool—its women—largely sat on the sidelines of its economy.

Shinzo Abe, the popular Prime Minister, is determined to change all that and in the process restore Japan's pride in its destiny. Beijing-based correspondent Hannah Beech and I sat down with Abe on April 9 to explore his plans. We talked about "Abenomics," the debate over his pronounced nationalism and whether China is fanning regional tensions to distract attention from unrest at home. "There's a real sense of energy in Japan that didn't exist a couple of years ago," Hannah observes. "Whether this energy can be sustained and whether oversize expectations will be dashed are big questions. But there's no doubt Abe is linked to that renewed sense of self-confidence."

Hannah's mother was born in Japan in 1944; she remembers the desperate poverty, the U.S. soldiers handing out candy to children. "She married an American, even though her father died fighting Americans. Now she's back living in Tokyo in a prosperous neighborhood with a Scandinavian bakery, an Italian restaurant and a Dean & DeLuca nearby," Hannah notes. "We shouldn't forget just how far Japan has come in 70 years—and it is this very recent history of renewal that should give us hope that Japan can restore itself again."

Nancy Gibbs, MANAGING EDITOR



**BEHIND THE STORY** TIME managing editor Nancy Gibbs, second from left, and Beijing-based correspondent Hannah Beech met with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at his office in Tokyo. Abe, who became Japan's youngest postwar Prime Minister during his first term in 2006–07, is working on reinvigorating Japan's economy and ultimately "refashioning Japan as a modern nation-state—a democratic force that can be a counterweight to an authoritarian China." For more, see page 26.

### NOW ON TIME.COM

New research suggests that the sentiments of your friends' social-media posts have a real, measurable effect on your mood. So TIME's Chris Wilson made an interactive tool that ranks your Facebook friends on the basis of how happy they are. Check it out at [time.com/happyfriends](http://time.com/happyfriends)



**NOW ON LIGHTBOX** In order to escape the stern gender roles of the 1950s and '60s, men who enjoyed cross-dressing would go to Casa Susanna, a 150-acre refuge and resort in the Catskills, in upstate New York. The now closed venue has inspired a new play, *Casa Valentina*, by Harvey Fierstein. "Their dressing is to lose the male role," he told TIME's Paul Moakley. For more, visit [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com).

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# MY BRAIN

HAS ALZHEIMER'S BUT  
IT *still has* HOPE.

IT HAS THE  
EXPERIENCE  
*of a* LEADER

AND THE  
*Patience*  
*of a* Mother.

IT HAS LIVED THROUGH  
INJUSTICE  
*but it* LIVES FOR  
EACH MOMENT.



*It's an* ADVOCATE  
WITH A *Meaningful*  
MISSION.

MY BRAIN  
MATTERS


AND I WILL USE IT  
AS LONG AS I CAN  
TO *WIPE OUT*  
ALZHEIMER'S.

READ MORE ABOUT JOAN'S STORY.

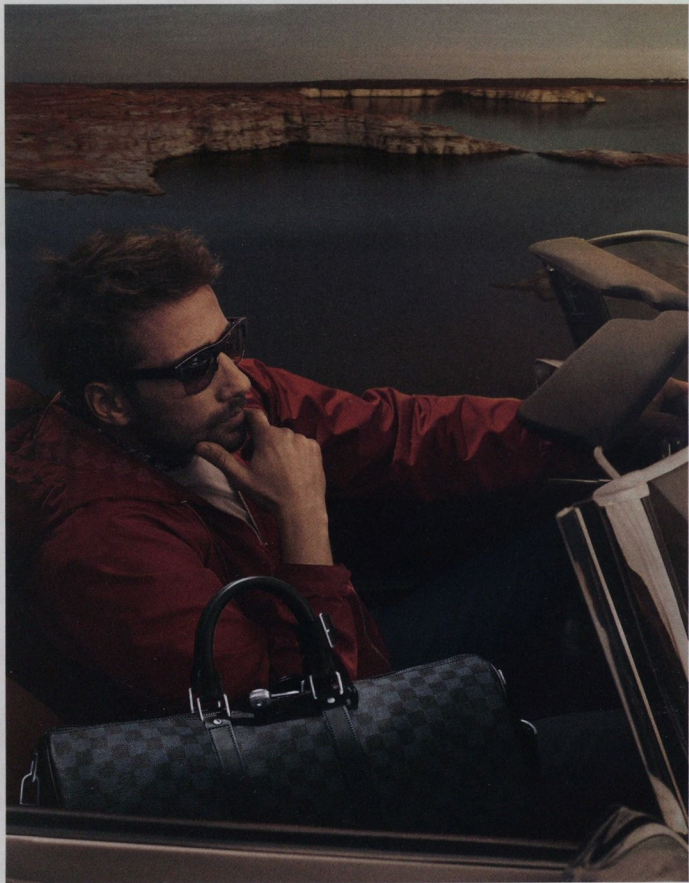
*and* GET INVOLVED *at*

→ [alz.org/mybrain](http://alz.org/mybrain)

Joan Uronis  
Diagnosed at age 62.

alzheimer's  association

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LOUIS VUITTON

# Briefing

## Southwest

Praised for promising passengers wider seats on Boeing 737 planes



## GOOD WEEK

## BAD WEEK



## US Airways

Criticized for a lewd tweet that was accidentally sent from its official account



6

Months until the next blood moon, a total lunar eclipse that causes the moon to appear reddish; the most recent one was April 14

**\$481,098**

The Obamas' 2013 income, down 21% from 2012 (due mostly to lower book sales)

'The country is on the **brink** of civil war.'



DMITRI MEDVEDEV, Russian Prime Minister, after at least two people were killed in Ukraine as Kiev's forces tried to regain hold of Slavyansk, which was seized by separatists

**'For the first time, there is an understanding ... that the real threat is not Israel, the Jews or Zionism.'**

AVIGDOR LIEBERMAN, Israeli Foreign Minister, revealing that Israel had secret talks with Arab states based on a mutual concern over Iran; Saudi Arabia denied involvement

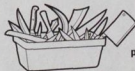
**'My goodness, I didn't realize solid-waste management was so controversial.'**

HILLARY CLINTON, after a woman threw a shoe during Clinton's speech at the Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries' convention in Las Vegas



**'WE ARE AMERICA ... WE OWN THE FINISH LINE.'**

JOE BIDEN, U.S. Vice President, at an event marking the one-year anniversary of the Boston Marathon bombing



120,000

Number of illegal knives seized as part of a weapons crackdown in China's southwestern province Guizhou

**'Those are some huge shoes to fill. And some really big pants.'**



STEPHEN COLBERT, after being tapped to take over the *Late Show* from David Letterman next year



Briefing

# LightBox

## Crowded Field

Runners charge forward at the starting line of the Mangyongdae Prize International Marathon in Pyongyang on April 13. This is the first year that the event was open to amateurs from outside North Korea.

Photograph by David Guttenfelder—AP

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK,  
GO TO [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com)







## World

## Early Results Point To a Runoff Vote in Afghan Elections

Afghanistan took another step toward a new government on April 13, with partial results from the previous weekend's presidential vote setting the stage for what is likely to be a runoff between a former Foreign Minister and an ex-Finance Minister.

The winner will replace Hamid Karzai, Afghanistan's President since the U.S.-led invasion in 2001, who is constitutionally barred from seeking a third term in office. The contest comes at a critical time for the war-torn country, with the majority of the approximately 51,000 international troops stationed there set to depart at the end of the year.

The early results showed former Foreign Minister Abdullah Abdullah and former Finance Minister Ashraf Ghani leading a pack of eight candidates with 41.9% and 37.6% of the vote, respectively. Zalmay Rassoul, another ex-Foreign Minister seen as a favorite of President Karzai's, trailed with 9.8%.

But with the figures reflecting the results at only 10% of polling stations in 26 of the country's 34 provinces, the field could still shift. Final results are due May 14. "I want to make clear that the results could change in future, as we announce the results with additional percentages of the vote," Ahmad

Yousuf Nuristani, the head of the country's Independent Election Commission, told Reuters. No candidate, however, is expected to emerge with an outright majority, and a runoff election between the top two candidates seems likely.

The outcome isn't simply dependent on the outstanding ballots—fraud too could have an impact.

Early reports indicate that there may have been significant irregularities in the vote, though it is unclear how they might measure up against those in the 2009 presidential election, in which over a million ballots were disqualified. While some 7 million Afghans braved threats of violence from Taliban militants to vote in this year's elections—an encouraging first step in what many hope will be a peaceful transfer of power—any evidence of widespread fraud could undermine Karzai's successor.



Presidential hopeful Abdullah Abdullah speaks to the media after casting his ballot

## DATA

## POLICING FACEBOOK

Facebook restricted user content 7,371 times from July to December 2013, owing to alleged legal violations around the world. Below, some country-by-country tallies:



4,765  
India



2,014  
Turkey



162  
Pakistan



113  
Israel



## Three Essential Facts About The U.S.-Iran Spat

The U.S. has refused to issue a visa to Iran's choice for U.N. ambassador, Hamid Aboutalebi, because of his links to the group behind the 1979 hostage crisis at the U.S. embassy in Tehran. The visa ban blocks him from taking up his position and has sparked a diplomatic row.

**THE BACKGROUND** Aboutalebi says his involvement in the 1979 crisis was limited to translating for the group that seized the embassy. Following the Iranian revolution, he became a diplomat and has served as Iran's envoy to Italy, Belgium, Australia and the E.U.

**THE LAW** The U.S., as the nation that hosts the U.N. headquarters, is obliged to grant visas for U.N. envoys—but it can bar individuals on national-security grounds.

**THE FALLOUT** The spat comes against the backdrop of delicate negotiations over Iran's nuclear program, raising concerns about the future of the talks.

## Brief History Panda Diplomacy

China postponed plans to send two pandas to Malaysia in the wake of tensions over the disappearance of Malaysia Airlines Flight 370. It's not the first time China has used pandas as a diplomatic tool.

1957

The country presented the Soviet Union with Ping-Ping, the first panda sent abroad as a state gift in modern times. A second Chinese panda, An-An, joined Ping-Ping at the Moscow Zoo two years later.



1965

North Korea's founder, Kim Il Sung, received five pandas from his communist ally from 1965 to 1980.

Ling-Ling



1972

After Richard Nixon became the first U.S. President to make an official visit to China, Beijing dispatched two pandas—Ling-Ling and Hsing-Hsing—to the National Zoo in Washington.



## Tragedy at Sea

**SOUTH KOREA** Coast-guard crews search for survivors after a South Korean ferry capsized off the country's southern coast on April 16. More than 280 people, many of them students on a high school trip, were reported missing after the ferry carrying 462 people overturned in apparently calm conditions on its way to the tourist island of Jeju. Dozens of coast-guard and navy vessels and 18 helicopters joined the rescue operation. *Photograph by Dong-A Ilbo—AFP/Getty Images*

## Trending In



### RELIEF

The U.N. approved the creation of a nearly 12,000-strong peacekeeping force for the conflict-stricken Central African Republic



### FOOD

An Australian chef won the award for the best margherita pizza at the World Pizza Championship in Parma, Italy



### ERRORS

A German furniture store pulled thousands of Chinese-made cups from sale when some were found to bear a faint image of Hitler



### TERRORISM

A bomb at a bus station in Nigeria's capital, Abuja, killed at least 72 people and underscored fears of a spreading Islamist insurgency



## WORLD

# 437,000

Number of murders worldwide in 2012, according to a new report from the U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime, which said only about 43% of intentional homicides result in convictions

**1973**  
China gave two pandas to France after President Georges Pompidou visited Beijing. Li-Li died within a year, but Yan-Yan lived until 2000.



**2008**  
Taiwan's President Ma Ying-jeou accepted two pandas as relations with Beijing warmed. His anti-China predecessor had turned down a similar offer in 2006.

## SYRIA

# 'This is a turning point in the crisis.'

**BASHAR ASSAD**, President of Syria, speaking at Damascus University on April 13. With his forces making gains against rebels, Assad struck a confident tone, lauding the army's role in what he called the "war against terror."





## Pushing Limits Putin's upping the ante in Ukraine. Can Obama lower the boom with sanctions?

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY

ON THE AFTERNOON OF April 14, a group of police officers lined up outside their ransacked headquarters in the eastern Ukrainian town of Gorlovka to receive orders from their new commander. Just a few hours earlier, their station had been stormed by a pro-Russian mob. Rather than resist, the officers defected. Greeting them now outside the building with a military salute was the leader of the

mob, a man in fatigues with a drill sergeant's swagger. On a video later posted to YouTube, he stated his rank as lieutenant colonel. "Of what?" a policeman asked. "Of the Russian army," the man replied.

For weeks, Ukrainians have worried that Vladimir Putin might direct his army to seize their country's pro-Russian east. Instead, the Russian leader seems to have opted for a more subtle

conquest reminiscent of his Crimea grab. Coordinated local groups, apparently led by professionals from across the border, have been seizing government buildings in several cities in Ukraine's east and declaring their independence from Kiev.

Perhaps by fiendish design, this leaves Ukraine's fledgling government facing a lose-lose choice. It can stand by as pro-Russian gunmen claim more ground in a region where much of Ukraine's heavy industry is based. Or it can try to evict them by force, providing Moscow with a handy excuse to launch a full-scale tanks and planes invasion

**Cheers to Moscow** Pro-Russian protesters make Molotov cocktails in Slavyansk, in eastern Ukraine

on the pretext of protecting the local Russian population. "That is the one thing [Putin] is waiting for, a picture of mass bloodshed," says Igor Smeshko, who ran Ukraine's Security Service from 2003 to 2005. Thus far, Ukrainian forces have shown restraint, in part at Washington's urging. That may not last.

The new turmoil in Ukraine is also discomfiting for President Obama, who has spent weeks struggling to devise a clear policy in



response to Putin's startling provocations. As eastern Ukraine fell into turmoil, Obama Administration officials were debating whether and how to slap Moscow with new sanctions, and European Union officials—fearing retaliation from Moscow—were far from consensus.

It's already too late to stop Putin from sowing exploitable chaos in Ukraine. The question is whether he can be stopped from breaking the country apart. "What Putin is doing in the long term is devastating to Russia," says Strobe Talbott, the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State under Bill Clinton. "In the short term, he has all the cards. And that's the dilemma we have."

The West does have a few cards to play, in the form of economic sanctions. But although the idea of cutting off Moscow's oligarchs from fortunes stashed abroad or stunting the profits of their monopolistic energy concerns sounds satisfying, those steps might come at a steeper cost than the West is willing to pay. "The U.S. business community recognizes the seriousness of the situation in Ukraine as well as the damage to the global economy that sanctions could inadvertently unleash," says Myron Brilliant, head of international affairs for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Unilateral U.S. sanctions without the support of the European Union would be "ineffective," Brilliant adds, given that U.S. trade with Russia is dwarfed by the E.U.'s. A senior Administration official concurs: imposing truly punishing sanctions on Russia's banking, energy and mining sectors, he says, "requires successfully herding the European cats."

#### POLITICAL FOES, ECONOMIC PARTNERS



**\$460  
BILLION**

Russia's trade with  
the European Union



**\$40  
BILLION**

Russia's trade  
with the U.S.

**'WHAT PUTIN IS  
DOING IN THE  
LONG TERM IS  
DEVASTATING  
TO RUSSIA.'**

—STROBE TALBOTT,  
former U.S. Deputy  
Secretary of State



Some say Obama needs to lead by example. "We can't blink now," argues former California Congresswoman Jane Harman, now president of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. "Our asymmetric advantage is our economic power."

Thus far, however, that's been no match for Putin's old-fashioned military power. Ukraine's small and ill-equipped army is unlikely to last long against Russia's much larger force. Guerrilla resistance would be hard to mount in an area with a generally pro-Russian population, notes Anthony Cordesman, a military expert with the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Washington elders like Republican Senator John McCain insist that Obama should already be shipping guns and ammo to the Ukrainians, but White House officials rule out that option.

Obama isn't totally ignoring Kiev's pleas for help with its self defense. On April 15 the White House issued an unusual confirmation that CIA Director John Brennan had visited Kiev a few days earlier, reportedly to discuss better intelligence sharing with the Ukrainians. The confirmation came only after Russia caught wind of the visit and publicized it, forcing Washington into a rare admission of a spy chief's travel—and handing Moscow a propaganda coup. Ukraine's recently ousted President, Viktor Yanukovich, who now lives in southern Russia, promptly accused Brennan of ordering the "Kiev junta" to conduct a violent crackdown against pro-Moscow "protesters."

For now, Obama is letting

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry take the lead. Kerry has already spent hours with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov to no avail—provoking scoffs that Putin is cynically using diplomacy to buy time and political cover. The notion is supported by a *Wall Street Journal* report that Putin wouldn't take a call Lavrov placed amid a long meeting with Kerry in London in March.

Kerry was scheduled for another meeting with Lavrov in Geneva on April 17. Is he playing the role of useful dupe? Absolutely not, says the Administration official, who is familiar with the top diplomat's thinking: "Kerry doesn't harbor a shred of illusion about Lavrov or Putin." Exhausting the prospect of diplomacy, he adds, "builds European support for tougher medicine."

It's possible the Europeans, and Washington, will administer a sanctions medicine tough enough to force a Putin retreat. But Kerry and Obama will be tempted to find a less confrontational solution, perhaps in the form of a political agreement leading to a federalized Ukraine whose regions enjoy autonomy. On April 14 the country's Prime Minister said that work had begun on such a plan.

It might be Ukraine's best hope. "We'll never get anywhere through the use of military force," Petr Mekhed, Ukraine's Deputy Defense Minister, tells *TIME*. "Our chances of saving [eastern Ukraine] are now in the hands of our politicians and their ability to sit down with the people there and talk to them." That is, if the Russian army allows it. —WITH REPORTING BY SIMON SHUSTER/KIEV AND ALEX ROGERS/WASHINGTON ■

Frazier Glenn Cross  
at his arraignment on  
murder charges



## The Blindness of Bigotry A gunman's deadly rampage shows how wrong he was

BY DAVID VON DREHLE/KANSAS CITY

THE VICTIMS WERE ALL CHRISTIANS IN THE Passover-eve rampage at two Jewish institutions near here. This is significant—but some reflection is needed to see what it means.

The background: a virulent anti-Semite and white supremacist named Frazier Glenn Cross, a.k.a. Glenn Miller, 73, was arrested and charged with murder after allegedly shooting three people and terrorizing many others at the Jewish Community Center of Greater Kansas City and the nearby Village Shalom assisted-living facility. Cross, who could face the death penalty if convicted, is expected to be charged with hate crimes as well.

The accused is a noisy bigot from way back. In the 1980s he led a KKK organization and founded the White Patriot Party. His activities earned him a stint in federal prison, but until the April 13 attack, he was not known to have crossed the line from bullying and bloviating to bloodshed.

Cross shouted "Heil, Hitler!" from the back of a police car after his arrest for killing Reat Griffin Underwood, 14, a Boy Scout who loved to sing, and the boy's grandfather, William Corporon, an admired physician. Members of a thriving United Methodist

congregation, the victims were shot in the JCC parking lot. Terri LaManno, an occupational therapist and Roman Catholic, was killed at Village Shalom, where she was visiting her mother.

Make no mistake: the crime was no more senseless and the killer no more wretched simply because he killed the very people he imagined to be his own.

What Cross's error shows is that even the most race-obsessed and tribe-conscious person imaginable—after a lifetime spent aggravating differences—could not tell one person from another when he left his cocoon of resentment. In the real world, we are mostly alike. While Cross nursed the idea that genes divide us, he proved himself wrong in the end. Shotgun poised, he couldn't tell who was who or which was which.

Reat, on the other hand, understood everything. Not long ago, the teenager went to the DMV for a learner's permit, and he marked yes on the organ-donation form. He knew that humanity translates across races, genders, faiths and nationalities. A big heart like his could beat in nearly any chest. In life and in death, the boy proved the bigot wrong.

## The Rundown

**INFANTICIDE** Megan Huntsman, 39, faces six counts of murder after admitting to strangling or suffocating at least that many babies from 1996 to 2006 immediately after giving birth to them. Authorities found the bodies of seven infants, one of whom appears to have been stillborn, inside plastic bags and stored in boxes in the garage of her former home in **Utah**.

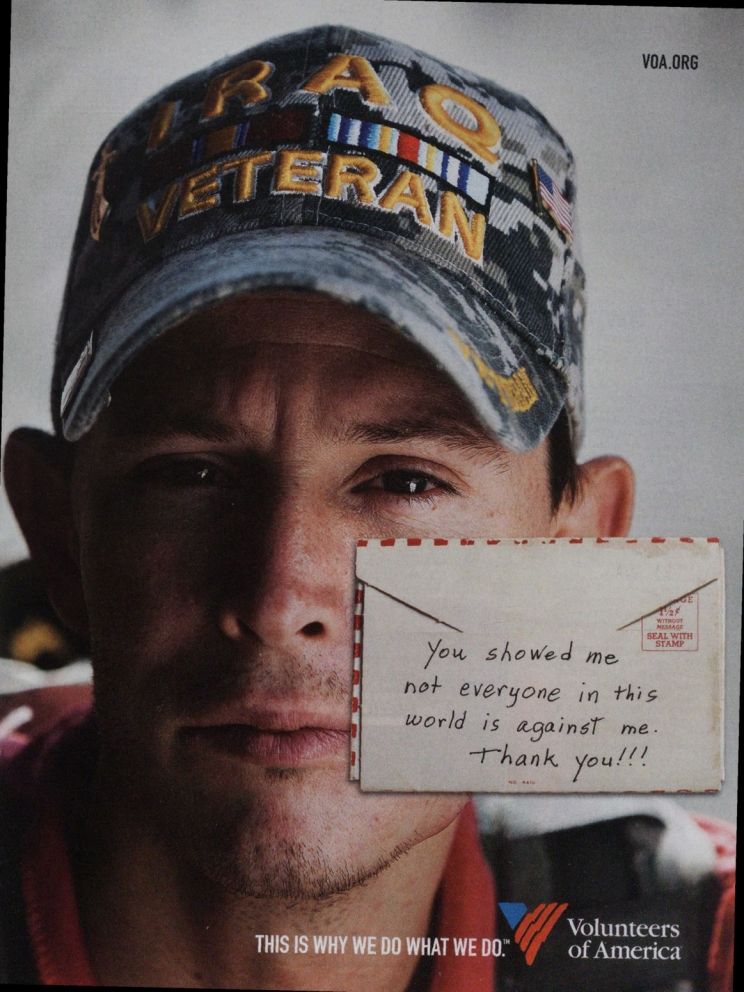
**FRACKING** Geologists in **Ohio** linked five small March earthquakes near Youngstown to fracking—the first time state officials have tied seismic activity to the process of using underground explosives to extract natural gas. Researchers say the drilling boom in the Appalachian foothills may be increasing pressure on a nearby fault. The state issued tighter permit rules in response.

### THE GROCERY BILL

**\$3.55**

The average price of a pound of ground beef, up 56% since 2010 and a record high when adjusted for inflation. Blame the drought in California and growing demand in Asia for the rising prices ahead of summer grilling season.

**SURVEILLANCE** New York police will no longer send plainclothes detectives to monitor **New York City's** Muslim communities—a sign that new chief William Bratton is moving the NYPD away from some of its controversial post-9/11 practices. Launched in 2003, the once secret surveillance program was criticized by community members and civil rights groups.



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# Milestones



Spectators observe a moment of silence for victims of the Boston Marathon bombing near the finish line on April 15

## REMEMBRANCE

### The Boston Bombing

A photographer witnesses a terrible day

By John Tlumacki

I was standing right on the finish line when the first bomb went off. It was loud and I thought, Why would they be firing a cannon? While I had that thought, the second bomb exploded. I rushed to the scene of the first bomb, but at first you couldn't see, it was so smoky. But when the smoke cleared, there was a pile of people on the ground, and you could see that their legs had blown off. I took pictures until the police told me to leave the area. When I got back to the offices of the Boston *Globe*, the first thing I did was take off my shoes because they were covered with blood. Then I sat at my computer, put in all my photos and just looked at them in disbelief. There are some photos in there that are terrible, that nobody else will ever see.

It really affected me, the first few weeks, having those images in my head constantly. My relationship with some of the survivors has eased that pain. Especially Celeste Corcoran and her daughter Sydney. When I

first met them, at Spaulding Rehabilitation Hospital in Boston, Sydney was sitting in a wheelchair next to her mother, who had lost both legs. I was so happy to see that they were alive. I said, "I'm sorry for having to photograph you the way I did. If there's anything I can do to make up for it—the only thing I can think of is, I would love to document your recovery." And they let me. In December, I went Christmas shopping with them, and as Celeste walked out of the department store, she was wearing red shoes. She walked so well, you couldn't even tell that anything had happened to her. To see that complete healing was just incredible for me.

On April 15, I stood with hundreds of people at the memorial ceremony to mark the first anniversary of the bombing. We were gathered about 50 ft. (15 m) from the finish line. There was a moment of silence and a flag raising, and we sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." It felt good. It felt like I was a part of Boston, that I was with people who really cared about people and about the city. And I felt genuinely honored to be there, not as a journalist, but as a person.

**Tlumacki** has been a Boston *Globe* staff photographer for more than 30 years. His coverage of the Boston Marathon bombing made him a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize.

## DIED

### Zander Hollander

Sports-trivia guru

Sports statistics are practically unavoidable today. They are available on your television, your computer, even in the palm of your hand. Not so long ago, that was far from the case. When Zander Hollander's first *Complete Handbook* guide was published in 1971, it was a revelation for voracious sports fans. Contained in its many pages were statistics, records, team rosters and predictions. Hollander, who died on April 11 at age 91, edited at least a half-dozen of the tomes each year covering sports that included baseball, football, basketball, soccer and hockey.

Hollander's prolific output inspired *Sports Illustrated* to declare him "the unofficial king of sports paperbacks" in 1997, the year his final collection was published. Never was that more apparent than in the first years of the *Complete Handbook*, when sports tidbits and trivia were rarely found outside of newspaper pages. Hollander's yearbooks inspired countless competitors, but none proved able to match his unique blend of abundant detail and biting wit. For a generation of sports-crazed youngsters, his pages were more than facts and figures—they were scripture. —ERIC DODDS



Nearly 9 out of 10  
patients with genotype 1\*  
were able to say...

I am

**HEPATI**

### Important Safety Information

**What is the most important information  
I should know about SOVALDI?**

**SOVALDI combination therapy with ribavirin  
or peginterferon alfa and ribavirin can cause  
birth defects or death of your unborn baby.**

If you or your sexual partner is pregnant or plans to  
become pregnant, do not take these medicines.

- You and your sexual partner must use 2 effective  
forms of birth control and should not become  
pregnant while being treated with SOVALDI  
combination therapy and for 6 months after your  
treatment is over. Talk to your doctor about forms  
of birth control.
- If you or your partner can become pregnant  
you must have a pregnancy test before starting

treatment with SOVALDI combination therapy,  
every month while being treated, and for 6 months  
after your treatment ends.

- Tell your healthcare provider right away if a  
pregnancy occurs while taking or within 6 months  
after you stop taking SOVALDI combination  
therapy. You or your healthcare provider should  
contact the Ribavirin Pregnancy Registry. If you  
are also infected with HIV and taking medicines to  
treat your HIV infection, an Antiretroviral Pregnancy  
Registry is also available. For contact information,  
see Brief Summary of full Prescribing Information.

### **You should not take SOVALDI alone.**

SOVALDI should be used together with ribavirin or  
in combination with peginterferon alfa and ribavirin  
to treat chronic Hep C infection.

**\*In a study of 327 patients who had no prior Hep C treatments, 89% of those with genotype 1 were cured.  
All patients received SOVALDI once daily for 12 weeks along with another oral medicine (ribavirin) and  
weekly injections (peginterferon alfa).**

Please see Brief Summary of full Prescribing Information on the following page.



**GILEAD**

**SOVALDI, the SOVALDI Logo, GILEAD, and the GILEAD Logo are  
trademarks of Gilead Sciences, Inc., or its related companies.**

## Changing Hep C with a groundbreaking treatment called SOVALDI.®

SOVALDI is a prescription medicine used with other antiviral medicines to treat chronic (lasting a long time) hepatitis C (Hep C) infection in adults. SOVALDI should not be taken alone. It is not known if SOVALDI is safe and effective in children under 18 years of age.

For the most common type of Hep C (genotype 1), SOVALDI is designed and proven to work quickly with **just 12 weeks of treatment** in combination with other prescription medicines. One SOVALDI pill is taken once daily, along with another oral medicine and a weekly injection.

In a clinical study nearly **9 out of 10** patients were **cured**. All patients received SOVALDI once daily for 12 weeks along with another oral medicine (ribavirin) and weekly injections (peginterferon alfa).

**Cure means the Hep C virus is not detected in the blood when measured 3 months after treatment is completed.**

They're calling this Hep C treatment a breakthrough. They got that right. Imagine being Hep C free after just 12 weeks of treatment.

**Don't wait for liver disease to progress. Talk to your gastroenterologist today and visit [www.sovaldi.com](http://www.sovaldi.com)**

# TIS Cured

### What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking SOVALDI?

- If you have: liver problems other than hepatitis C infection; had a liver transplant; severe kidney problems or are on dialysis; HIV; any other medical condition; or if you are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take SOVALDI or breastfeed. You should not do both.
- If you take rifampin (Rifadin®, Rifamate®, Rifater®), St. John's wort or a product that contains St. John's wort. Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Other medicines may affect how SOVALDI works.

### What are the most common side effects of SOVALDI?

For SOVALDI used in combination with peginterferon alfa and ribavirin they include tiredness, headache, nausea, difficulty sleeping, and low red blood cell count.

*You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.*

 **SOVALDI**  
SOFOSBUVIR  
400 mg TABLETS

Breaking Ground in Hep C Treatment



**SOVALDI® (soh-VAHL-dee) (sofosbuvir) tablets**  
Brief summary of full Prescribing Information. Please see full Prescribing Information. Rx Only.

**What is the most important information I should know about SOVALDI?**

**SOVALDI, in combination with ribavirin or peginterferon alfa and ribavirin, may cause birth defects or death of your unborn baby.** If you are pregnant or your sexual partner is pregnant or plans to become pregnant, do not take these medicines. You or your sexual partner should not become pregnant while taking SOVALDI with ribavirin or in combination with peginterferon alfa and ribavirin, and for 6 months after treatment is over.

• **Females and males must use 2 effective forms of birth control during treatment and for the 6 months after treatment with SOVALDI and ribavirin or in combination with peginterferon alfa and ribavirin.** Talk to your healthcare provider about forms of birth control that may be used during this time.

• Females must have a negative pregnancy test before starting treatment with SOVALDI and ribavirin or in combination with peginterferon alfa and ribavirin, every month while being treated, and for 6 months after your treatment ends.

• If you or your female sexual partner becomes pregnant while taking or within 6 months after you stop taking SOVALDI and ribavirin, or SOVALDI in combination with peginterferon alfa and ribavirin, tell your healthcare provider right away. You or your healthcare provider should contact the Ribavirin Pregnancy Registry by calling 1-800-593-2214. The Ribavirin Pregnancy Registry collects information about what happens to mothers and their babies if the mother takes ribavirin while she is pregnant. If you are also infected with HIV and taking medicines to treat your HIV infection, an Antiretroviral Pregnancy Registry is also available at 1-800-258-4263.

**You should not take SOVALDI alone.** SOVALDI should be used together with ribavirin or in combination with peginterferon alfa and ribavirin to treat chronic hepatitis C infection.

**What is SOVALDI?**

SOVALDI is a prescription medicine used with other antiviral medicines to treat chronic (lasting a long time) hepatitis C infection in adults. SOVALDI should not be taken alone. It is not known if SOVALDI is safe and effective in children under 18 years of age.

**Who should not take SOVALDI? See "What is the most important information I should know about SOVALDI?"**

**What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking SOVALDI? Before taking SOVALDI, tell your healthcare provider if you:**

- have liver problems other than hepatitis C infection
- have had a liver transplant
- have severe kidney problems or you are on dialysis
- have HIV
- have any other medical condition
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if SOVALDI passes into your breast milk. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take SOVALDI with or without food. You should not do both.

**Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take,** including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Other medicines may affect how SOVALDI works. **Especially tell your healthcare provider if you take any of the following medicines:**

- carbamazepine (Carbatrol®, Epitol®, Equetro®, Tegretol®)
- oxcarbazepine (Trileptal®, Oxtellar XR™)
- phenytoin (Dilantin®, Phenytek®)
- phenobarbital (Luminal®)
- rifabutin (Mycobutin®)
- rifampin (Rifadin®, Rifamate®, Rifater®, Rimactane®)
- rifapentine (Priftin®)
- St. John's wort (Hypericum perforatum) or a product that contains St. John's wort
- tipranavir (Aptivus®)

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

**How should I take SOVALDI?**

- Take SOVALDI exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it. Do not change your dose unless your healthcare provider tells you to.
- Do not stop taking SOVALDI without first talking with your healthcare provider. If you think there is a reason to stop taking SOVALDI, talk to your healthcare provider before doing so.
- Take SOVALDI 1 time each day with or without food.
- If you miss a dose of SOVALDI, take the missed dose as soon as you remember the same day. Do not take more than 1 tablet (400 mg) of SOVALDI in a day. Take your next dose of SOVALDI at your regular time the next day.
- If you take too much SOVALDI, call your healthcare provider or go to the nearest hospital emergency room right away.

**What are the possible side effects of SOVALDI?**

See "What is the most important information I should know about SOVALDI?"

The most common side effects of SOVALDI when used in combination with ribavirin include:

- tiredness
- headache

The most common side effects of SOVALDI when used in combination with peginterferon alfa and ribavirin include:

- tiredness
- headache
- nausea
- difficulty sleeping
- low red blood cell count

Tell your healthcare provider if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the possible side effects of SOVALDI. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

**Keep SOVALDI and all medicines out of the reach of children.**

**General information about the safe and effective use of SOVALDI**

It is not known if treatment with SOVALDI will prevent you from infecting another person with the hepatitis C virus during treatment. Talk with your healthcare provider about ways to prevent spreading the hepatitis C virus.

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Patient Information leaflet. Do not use SOVALDI for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give SOVALDI to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

If you would like more information about SOVALDI, talk with your healthcare provider. You can ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for information about SOVALDI that is written for health professionals.

For more information, call 1-800-445-3235 or go to [www.SOVALDI.com](http://www.SOVALDI.com).

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## The Return of Medicare

In Arkansas, Democrats dust off an old tactic in order to retain control of the U.S. Senate



**TOM COTTON IS YOUR BASIC REPUBLICAN red-state fantasy candidate.** He is 36 years old, a former Army captain who served in both Iraq and Afghanistan, and a graduate of Harvard University and Harvard Law. He is a member of the House running for the U.S. Senate from Arkansas. His opponent is an unflashy Democratic moderate, Mark Pryor, who spent the first months of the campaign barraged by an estimated \$2 million in Obamacare ads provided by Americans for Prosperity, the Koch brothers' super PAC. Not surprisingly, Cotton has been leading—and is one of the reasons the Republicans may retake the Senate in 2014. Or maybe not: the polls suddenly turned around in March, and Pryor is now narrowly ahead. What happened?

**M**EET LINDA... WHO JOINS HARRY AND LOUISE, and dozens of other average Americans—some real, some conjured—in the long, sordid history of political ads designed to scare the bejezous out of other average Americans over health care. Linda appears to be real. She's from Little Rock. She's been married to the same lucky fellow for 37 years, and they have two "great" kids. We know this because a black-and-white family photo is shown prominently at the beginning of the ad. Then we see Linda, who seems to be in her 50s, with tightly curled gray hair and glasses, sitting in her breakfast nook gazing at her Apple computer. Retirement is just around the corner, she says. "That's why I was so concerned when I read"—and here she seems to be reading off her computer—"that Tom Cotton voted to turn Medicare into a voucher system" that would allow insurance companies to "increase rates, cut benefits and cost seniors thousands more each year."

It's a brilliant ad, classic Medicare. The fact that Linda seems to be reading the horrific news about Cotton off her computer lends a subtle authority to the information. Is it accurate? Well, yes and no. Cotton and 218 of his colleagues in the House did indeed vote for the Paul Ryan budget, which would slash costs by moving to a privatized "premium support"—or voucher—system of health care delivery for senior citizens. Is that a bad idea? Probably not. In fact, a more generous version already exists in the form of Medicare Advantage, the private-sector Medicare alternative that seems to be going great guns in the Obamacare era: an estimated 30% of seniors have signed up, an increase of 38% in recent years. The

### THE CANDIDATE VS. THE ATTACK AD



**TOM COTTON**

Congressman from Arkansas, running for the U.S. Senate: "Obamacare is a job killer, a health care disaster and an assault on liberty."



**'LINDA' FROM  
LITTLE ROCK**

Concerned health care consumer: "Cotton's plan would allow insurance companies to increase rates, cut benefits and cost seniors thousands more each year."

brute force of competition (plus some federal subsidies that both parties want to diminish) has allowed increased benefits like gym memberships and free medication. The fact that many of these plans are based within systems where doctors are paid salaries makes it potentially more cost-effective than classic fee-for-service Medicare. It would be very valuable to have a serious conversation about this. Pryor is a fiscal conservative. He's said that all programs (including Medicare, presumably) should be on the table. He could be part of the solution, rather than hiding behind traditional Democratic battlelines.

Democrats will say, Oh, come on. It's about time we started playing hardball again. The Republicans strolled into a tornado by voting—symbolically, since it never had a chance of passage—for the Ryan budget. The Koch brothers have spent gazillions putting sketchy Obamacare ads on the air, including one starring Jerry, an Arkansas truck driver who "lost" his health coverage because of Obamacare, although maybe he didn't, because the Arkansas insurance commissioner put a two-year delay on that ruling and now Jerry is "confused" by all these newfangled government machinations. This was one of the less toxic Koch ads—and "Jerry" has been smoked by "Linda" in the court of public opinion.

**O**F COURSE, NEXT MONTH THERE COULD BE A killer Obamacare ad starring "Arnie," an Arkansas druggist whose health care premiums have skyrocketed. And later we may get to know "Marge," who survived breast cancer because Obamacare saved her health insurance. We could go back and forth, Obamacare vs. Medicare, all the way until November. It's happened before. It's worked before. But is it what you really want this election to be about? Isn't it precisely the sort of campaign that turns people off politics? Don't we have more important things to talk about? "I think the Republicans will still win the House and Senate," says Steve Schmidt, a GOP consultant. "But when you have no real governing agenda, it becomes very easy to get caught up in entitlement issues."

That is true for Democrats as well. They are proud of their demographics, especially the favor bestowed on them by younger voters. But younger voters may decide they don't like paying for an unreformed Medicare system as we baby boomers live on and on and on. Those who live by the anecdote can die by the anecdote.

TO READ JOE'S  
BLOG POSTS, GO TO  
[time.com/swampland](http://time.com/swampland)





# On an April morning

at Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, cherry-blossom petals fall like confetti around the Shinto worshippers who have come to offer their prayers. Pilgrims approach the austere shrine, clap twice and bow their heads. They are honoring the memory of 2.5 million Japanese war dead, whose souls are enshrined at Yasukuni and are considered divine. Nearby, on the shrine's grounds, a military-history museum presents a less peaceful scene. Amid the maps and swords and glass cases containing soldiers' letters home are exhibits that glorify Japan's imperial march across Asia, justify the bombing of Pearl Harbor as a necessary response to U.S. intransigence and airbrush atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers. The Nanjing Massacre, in which Japanese troops killed, raped and rampaged across the former Chinese capital, is described as an "incident."

On Dec. 26, 2013, Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, dressed in a somber morning suit, walked behind a Shinto priest and paid his respects at Yasukuni. Japan's last six leaders pointedly stayed away, mindful that conferring official recognition on a shrine that honors top war criminals among the deceased would anger Asian nations where those crimes were committed. But Abe had said that not visiting Yasukuni was the great regret of his first term in office from 2006 to '07. Predictably, his visit drew furious condemnation from China and South Korea, two nations that suffered most under Japan's expansionism. Even the U.S., Japan's staunch ally and security guarantor, expressed its disappointment.

But Abe was playing to a different audience, sending a message not about love of war but about love of country. If his critics see it as a crude bit of nationalist provocation, so be it. "I paid a visit to Yasukuni Shrine to pray for the souls of those who had fought for the country and made ultimate sacrifices," he told TIME in an interview. "I have made a pledge never to wage



war again, that we must build a world that is free from the sufferings of the devastation of war."

Japan's transformation from an imperial aggressor to the world's second largest economy and champion of peaceful ideals was one of the most redemptive tales of the 20th century. But nearly 70 years since the end of World War II, the pistons have stalled. In 2011 the Japanese economy lost its No. 2 status to China. Beijing is flexing its muscles, aggressively pursuing territorial disputes with Japan and other neighbors. Meanwhile, Japan's population is both aging and shrinking. For all its high-tech wizardry, the country feels sapped of the motivating power that propelled its rise. The 2011 triple shock of earthquake, tsunami and nuclear crisis, which claimed nearly 16,000 lives, only underscored this sense of national drift.

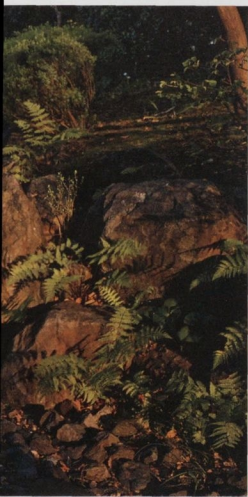
As Japan searches for its soul, Abe—grandson of a wartime minister once arrested by the Allied powers, collector of revisionist friends and Japan's first Prime Minister born in the postwar period—has positioned himself as a national savior. Powered with a rare electoral mandate, Abe, 59, has vowed to halt Japan's slow

march toward international irrelevance. Two decades of economic deflation and the lingering weight of wartime loss, in the view of Abe and his allies, have forced the country into a submissive crouch. It was time for some backbone. The 2012 campaign slogan of Abe's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was "Restore Japan." Even his controversial economic-reform package, dubbed Abenomics, is a projection of the PM's vision to return Japan to greatness. "I am a patriot," Abe says, explaining one of his personal motivators. "When I came to office, in terms of diplomacy and national security as well as the economy, Japan was in a very severe situation."

Whether Abe is a galvanizing change agent or a nationalist legate who is driving his country back to the future, there is no doubt that he is Japan's—and possibly the continent's—most consequential politician in some time, having halted the revolving door that has seen six Prime Ministers come and go in as many years. With the LDP having secured a pair of electoral victories over the past two years, Abe is likely to rule until at least 2016.

This gives him latitude to tackle a long-to-do list: rejuvenate the economy by





**Home front** Abe takes a break with his wife Akie in the gardens of the Prime Minister's official residence in Tokyo

reform aimed at dismantling business inefficiencies that hamper Japan's global competitiveness. Already, growth is tapering, and a sales-tax hike unveiled this month could dampen consumer spending.

Without an economic resurgence, Abe will have a hard time achieving his greater goal of refashioning Japan as a modern nation-state—a democratic force that can be a counterweight to an authoritarian China. Japan is now a society where even the young have downsize their dreams. "People have lost confidence," says Nobuo Kishi, Japan's Vice Foreign Minister and Abe's younger brother, who believes the Prime Minister wants to encourage "amity, love for the homeland and patriotic spirit. I think these form the basis for Japan restoring its confidence."

It is into this complicated landscape that President Barack Obama is due to arrive in late April—a long-delayed trip after plans last year were foiled by the U.S. government shutdown. Obama will spend two nights in Japan, then stop in South Korea, Malaysia and the Philippines. (Notably, he is skipping China.) "There's general excitement in the U.S. about a Japanese leader who looks like he wants to step up to challenges and is able to do it with popularity behind him," says Vikram Singh, vice president for national security and international policy at the Center for American Progress in Washington. But reservations quickly follow. "[Japan] should be proud of its postwar way of being but should be honest about its wartime history," says Singh. "And failing to do that is one of the great shortcomings of modern Japanese politics."

### The Rising Son

JAPAN MAY PRIDE ITSELF ON BEING ASIA'S oldest democracy, but its networks of power are rooted in families. Few Prime Ministers have taken office without a famous forefather before him. Abe is the son of a Foreign Minister and grandson of a Prime Minister. He says the commitment of his father Shintaro Abe to securing a peace treaty with the then Soviet Union, even as he was dying of cancer, impressed upon him the importance—and the sacrifices—of public service. "I learned...

that you may have to risk your own life to make such a historical accomplishment." His paternal grandfather Kan Abe was a rare critic of the militarist impulses of wartime leader Hideki Tojo and opposed embarking on war with the U.S.

But it is Abe's maternal grandfather who looms largest in Japanese history. Nobusuke Kishi served in the wartime Cabinet as the head of the Ministry of Munitions and directed industrialization efforts in Manchuria, the northeastern Chinese region that Tokyo turned into a puppet regime. Manchuria was ground zero for some of imperial Japan's worst crimes, from armies of forced labor to biochemical experiments on civilians. After Japan's defeat, the Allied powers locked Kishi up for three years, but he was never charged with war crimes. A decade later, he emerged as a pro-Western Prime Minister who cemented the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. His rehabilitation, like that of many wartime political figures, was sanctioned by the Americans, who occupied Japan for seven years.

Despite his lineage, Abe is, in some ways, an unlikely figure to rebuild the nation. In 1982, after working briefly for a steel company, he joined his father, then Foreign Minister, as a secretary. He soon found his political voice—a hawkish tone born of a Thatcher-Reagan-style conviction in the clarity of conservative principles. The LDP was a big ideological tent, which has helped it rule Japan for all but a handful of the postwar years by shape-shifting to the electorate's mood. But Abe made his name on the right of the party spectrum, signing on to causes that downplayed or denied Japanese wartime atrocities.

In his earlier term, Abe was Japan's youngest Prime Minister. The voters were concerned about the economy, but Abe frittered away political capital on nationalist causes, like educational reform that would increase flag-waving in schools. A year into his tenure, he resigned, blaming his retreat on a rare intestinal ailment. In the intervening years, the LDP—and Japan as a whole—has edged closer to Abe's political moorings. One trigger was domestic, the incompetence of the vaguely left-leaning Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), whose three years in power were consumed by economic dithering and political infighting. In December 2012

ramming through structural reform, encouraging innovation and bringing more women into the labor force; revise the postwar constitution, which was written by the occupying Americans, to allow for a more conventional military; and most of all, play cheerleader to a nation in need of a jolt of banzai self-esteem. "Abe is of the view that Japan needs to stop getting kicked around," says Michael J. Green, Asia and Japan chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, who, from his days as senior director for Asia on President George W. Bush's National Security Council, knows Abe well. "He thinks about history and world affairs, strategy—he loves that stuff. He wants to be a strategic realpolitik player."

Abe's success depends, first and foremost, on his ability to revitalize the economy. So far, the first two phases of Abenomics—fiscal stimulus and monetary easing—have coincided with an uptick in growth and stock-market sentiment. Last September, in a speech at the New York Stock Exchange, Abe even sold his namesake plan as a blueprint for global revival. But the third arrow of Abenomics will be the trickiest to fire: structural

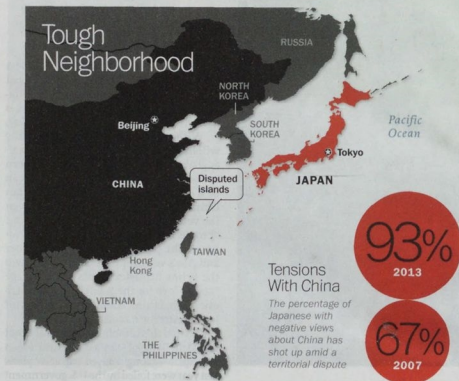
elections, the LDP crushed the DPJ by riding the protest vote and later pushed Abeonomics as a path forward. "We were frozen in a deflationary mind-set," says Abe's economic adviser Etsuro Honda, who thinks Japan's economy had reached a make-or-break moment. "The Prime Minister proposed a totally unprecedented trial... that cannot be allowed to fail."

### The China Card

THE OTHER CATALYST OF JAPAN'S RIGHTWARD shift was external: the rise of China, now ruled by its own nationalist leader, President Xi Jinping. In 2012, Japan, under the DPJ, nationalized some uninhabited islands in the East China Sea that Tokyo administers but to which Beijing lays claim. Since then, Chinese military maneuvers in contested waters have increased, and in 2013, Japanese jet sorties climbed to their highest numbers since the Cold War. Last year China declared the skies above the islands as part of an East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone and demanded that flights crossing the airspace notify Chinese authorities. The U.S., among other nations, has ignored this request and has criticized China for changing the status quo in such a volatile part of the world.

In 2007, when Abe left office, 67% of Japanese expressed negative views toward China, according to the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project. By 2013, that number had risen to 93%. Against China's double-digit military-budget hikes, Abe's calls to strengthen Japan's armed forces didn't sound so silly. Last year Japan's defense budget saw its first—albeit modest—increase in more than a decade; 2014 has brought more money.

Meanwhile, Sino-Japanese relations remain in a deep freeze, although that doesn't prevent China from serving as Japan's largest trading partner, with more than \$330 billion in bilateral trade in 2012. Abe has never had a summit with Xi, meaning that the leaders of the world's second and third largest economies aren't talking to each other. Proposals by Japan to set up a hotline between the two nations over the contested islands have been rebuffed by China, which says Japan must first admit to the existence of a territorial dispute—something Tokyo refuses to do. Although the U.S. takes no position on who rightfully owns the islands, called the



Senkaku by the Japanese and the Diaoyu by the Chinese, Washington has said its security treaty with Japan covers the bits of uninhabited rock. "We have told the Chinese that risk reduction is not a concession to Japan," says a senior U.S. Administration official, who acknowledges that unintended clashes in the East China Sea could spark a larger conflict.

Given how quickly the Japanese electorate gets disenchanted with its leaders, Abe's popularity has proved remarkably buoyant. But support for his most hawkish goals is not assured. One of his pet projects is revising the postwar peace constitution, which was forced on the Japanese by the Americans and precludes Japan from possessing a normal military. (It does have well-funded armed forces, limited to defensive actions.) "I say we should change our constitution now," Abe says, noting that Japan is a rare democracy to never have amended its constitution. Yet, for all their worries about China, most Japanese do not support measures for a more active military, polls show. Even LDP elders have expressed reservations about Abe's push for what's called collective self-defense, in which Japan could defend allies like the

U.S. from foes like North Korea. "[Abe is] implementing his rather right-wing policy in national security and diplomacy," says former LDP secretary general Makoto Koga. "It makes people feel concerned."

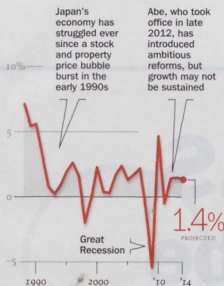
Such criticism helps explain why Abe has backtracked on a couple of nationalist issues that played well with the LDP's base. While campaigning in 2012, he called for a revision of the 1993 Kono Statement, the admission by a former Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary that Japan's military forced Asian "comfort women" into sexual slavery. In late February the Abe government announced it was re-examining the way in which the Kono Statement was formulated. Abe says that during his first term, "a Cabinet decision was made stating that there was no information that shows people were forcibly recruited." Public opinion, though, didn't clearly support such a move. Last month the Abe administration announced it would be leaving the statement alone.

### Divine Mandate

ACCORDING TO JAPAN'S FOUNDATIONAL myth, the Emperor Jimmu, a direct descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu,

## Economic challenge

Annual growth



\*Estimate. Sources: Global AgeWatch Index; IMF; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Pew Global Attitudes Project

## Aging population

Percentage of population over age 60 expected by 2050



## Defense spending

Japan ranked eighth worldwide in 2013, while China ranked second behind the U.S.



founded the Japanese imperial house more than 2,600 years ago. Since then, an unbroken line of male heirs has tied Japan's royal family to the divine. Shinto, in its latter state-linked form, defies this imperial cosmology. The faith's role in providing spiritual justification for wartime Japan—kamikaze suicide pilots dying in the name of the Emperor—tainted the state religious doctrine. In 1946, after Japan's defeat in the war, Emperor Hirohito issued an imperial rescript that renounced "the false conception" that he was an incarnation of a god. The Americans stripped Shinto of its status as the national religion.

When Abe talks of restoring Japan, he often means economic rejuvenation. But one little-covered development of the Abe era is the renaissance of Shinto in Japanese politics. Abe is the secretary general of a parliamentary Shinto alliance, which has increased its membership from 152 parliamentarians before the LDP took power in December 2012 to 268 today. Sixteen of 19 Cabinet ministers are members; in the DPJ's government, there were none. "Prime Minister Abe advocates breaking from the postwar regime and restoring Japan, and we share the same thoughts,"

says Yutaka Yuzawa, the administrative director of a Shinto political association, whose father was once the lead priest at the controversial Yasukuni Shrine. Last fall, Abe became the first sitting PM in more than eight decades to participate in one of Shinto's holiest festivals, in which the Emperor's ancestors, all the way up to sun deity Amaterasu, are honored. In a major speech this year, Abe used Shinto vocabulary to glorify his homeland.

There's nothing wrong with celebrating a homegrown faith that worships nature alongside ancient ancestors. But some politicians pushing for a Shinto resurgence also equivocate on Japan's responsibility for the war. It's instructive that Hirohito stopped visiting Yasukuni in 1978, after the enshrinement of top war criminals, presumably as a protest against the shrine's hijacking by conservative elements. Japan's ambivalent attitude toward its wartime past is often contrasted with that of Germany, which has vocally apologized for the Holocaust and supported the construction of genocide memorials. China, for one, says Japan hasn't adequately repented for World War II. Abe disagrees. "In the previous war, Japan has given tremen-

dous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly those of Asia," he says. "Previous Prime Ministers have expressed their feelings of remorse and apology. In my first administration, I also did so."

But critics point out that Abe has fraternized with deniers of history. Last year he co-wrote a book with Naoki Hyakuta, a best-selling author who believes both the Nanjing Massacre and the military's enslavement of "comfort women" are fictitious. "Japanese feel embarrassed about our country, our national flag, our national anthem," says Hyakuta, whose novel about a conflicted kamikaze pilot sold 4 million copies and spawned a popular film late last year. "Mr. Abe is trying to restore basic things, such as national pride."

Just how far does Abe want to go? "I'm extremely worried," says Koga. "I want to ask Mr. Abe, You say, 'Break from the postwar regime.' Do you want to say... that Japan's peace diplomacy was a mistake and that you want to make Japan into a modern and masculine country as in the prewar era?" Political scientist Koichi Nakano, who teaches at Tokyo's Sophia University, puts Abe's politics in a regional context: "The hard-liners in East Asia, they need each other," he says, speaking of Abe, Xi (son of a revolutionary leader), North Korea's Kim Jong Un (scion of the Kim political dynasty) and South Korea's Park Geun-hye (daughter of a former strongman). "Their dominance of domestic politics depends on foreign enemies. This is a dangerous game playing across the region."

Indeed, Abe's popularity at home may depend on proving that his spine is stiff enough to stand up to the likes of China. After so many years of rudderless leadership, Japan has a Prime Minister whose pronouncements are closely watched by the world. The question is whether Abe's active sense of patriotism—not to mention his evasions of wartime history—limns Japanese sentiments. The bravest leaders, of course, can guide their people, not just submit to their wishes. "I get criticized from time to time," says Abe, "as I try to exercise what I believe to be right." Penitent bows just aren't the style of Japan's chief patriot. —WITH REPORTING BY CHIE KOBAYASHI/TOKYO AND MICHAEL CROWLEY/WASHINGTON ■



# colleges be graded by the government?

NATION

# Should U.S. colleges be graded by the government?

The President wants to rate colleges to increase competition and cut student debt

# Should U.S. colleges be

# graded by the





YES

NO

MAYBE

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YES

NO



MAYBE

net-loan debt. The campus backlash has begun By Haley Sweetland Edwards

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YOU'LL BE FORGIVEN IF YOU'VE never heard of Lesley University. The small, private liberal-arts school exists almost literally in the shadow of Harvard, scattered across a handful of brick buildings and Victorian mansions in

Cambridge, Mass. With only 1,650 undergraduates and a Division III sports program, Lesley rarely makes headlines. But lately its president, Joseph Moore, has been making some noise.

What's got him going is President Obama's plan to assign an official government rating to every college and university in the country, from tiny faith-based schools to giant state flagships, and then allocate federal financial aid according to those ratings. "When I first heard about the plan, I thought, Holy smokes," Moore says, "what kind of scientific nightmare are we getting ourselves into here?"

While the Administration hasn't announced how it'll go about determining ratings, schools across the country are clearly worried. Once the government imposes its promised tests to evaluate things like accessibility, affordability and student performance after graduation, chances are that small, pricey colleges like Lesley might not stack up well. After all, only about a quarter of Lesley's students are eligible for need-based federal aid, its tuition is \$32,000 a year, and its graduation rate is just under 50%.

And that, says Moore, is exactly his point: none of those numbers takes into account the national awards for teaching won by Lesley's professors, the impressive off-campus internship program for students or the fact that the Lesley Lynx are the New England sports champions in soccer and softball. What's more, he says, even the existing data points skew the truth. The federal graduation rates, for instance, don't take into account about a third of Lesley's students, who take classes part time or who transferred from other institutions, and the federal aid numbers omit hundreds of middle-class families who just miss the cut. "You have to look at the whole environment in which an institution operates," Moore says. "Three or four or five measures don't tell the whole story."

Moore is hardly alone in his crusade. Nearly 60% of college presidents doubt the rating plan will work, according to a December 2013 Gallup and Inside Higher Ed poll, and earlier this year, the head of every college and university in Wisconsin signed a letter expressing unified opposition to it. Public comments to the Department of Education on the issue have been overwhelmingly negative. "The fundamental question is, who should be responsible for assigning value to an education?" says Tracy Fitzsimmons, president of Shenandoah University in Virginia, another small, private college. "The answer is, students and their families. The federal government should not be in that business."

The problem, of course, is that the federal govern-

ment is already in the college business—big-time. Congress currently earmarks about \$150 billion every year to federal loans, grants and work-study programs for undergraduates, about four times more than it spends on K-12 education. Far too much of that money ends up going to subpar institutions with abysmal graduation rates that leave most of their students marooned—with either no degree or a worthless degree, few job prospects and a load of student debt. In an economy where real wages are stuck in the mud, American students are taking on ever larger loans, almost \$30,000 each on average, and default rates are rising at an alarming pace, doubling to 10% over the past decade. "The status quo isn't working," says Cecilia Muñoz, director of the White House Domestic Policy Council. "It's not O.K. that we keep pouring in federal money to keep up with colleges' raising prices."

No one knows just what will happen next year when the Obama ratings go into effect. If the scheme succeeds as the President wants, it could remake the higher-education landscape, weeding out the weakest schools and forcing middling ones to improve. If it fails, as critics predict, good schools will be punished and the neediest students might find themselves with even fewer options. What no one doubts is that some change is coming. "There is a sense now that we can't keep going like this," says Andrew Kelly, a higher-education scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. "We either need to start demanding more of colleges or something's going to break."

#### AS COLLEGE COSTS SOAR ...

# 33%

Percentage increase in the total cost of an undergraduate degree from 2002 to 2012

#### STUDENT DEBT HAS BALLOONED ...



#### A Presidential Priority

IN THE SPRING OF 2013, PRESIDENT OBAMA'S POLICY wonks came to him with a modest plan that would create limited incentives for colleges to keep tuition down and help more low-income students graduate. But Obama sent them back to the drawing board, saying he wanted something bigger. A few weeks later, the team came back with another plan, and again Obama said no. He wanted, he told them again, something that would force Americans to fundamentally rethink higher education and shake up a broken system. A few weeks after that, the rating plan landed on his desk. "We needed a plan that would actually change the status quo," Muñoz says. "And that's what we've got."

When Obama announced the idea in August, he described it as a way to identify the schools with "the best value, so students and taxpayers get a bigger bang for their buck." The rating system would make colleges more accountable in three ways: First, it would provide students with a quick, easy-to-use cheat sheet on which schools are the most affordable and produce the most successful graduates. Second, it would encourage institutions to compete against one another to get their ratings up. And third, Obama announced that he would seek congressional authorization to reduce financial aid to the lowest-ranked schools. At least that's the theory.

If this approach sounds familiar, that's because it is. For more than a decade, federal funding for K-12 education has rewarded schools that meet federal benchmarks of achievement. Under President George W. Bush, the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services started a rating system for nursing homes in an effort to help Americans choose—and direct their federal dollars to—the higher-quality institutions. And states long ago began using metrics to track their own colleges and universities. As of this year, 25 states from New Mexico to Massachusetts require colleges to meet certain performance standards to receive extra financial aid. In Florida, the government will disburse an additional \$20 million this year to four-year institutions that demonstrate that a certain percentage of their graduates are gainfully employed. In Louisiana, some schools will get extra funds for keeping students from dropping out.

But adopting such a plan at the federal level has proved much trickier. That's partly because colleges and universities are among the most powerful and well-connected special interests in Washington. Over the past decade, the higher-education industry has spent more than a billion dollars on lobbying and has employed about 1,500 lobbyists a year, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. It's not hard to see why. The vast majority of colleges and universities rely on the feds for about two-thirds of their revenue—even private institutions' budgets are made up of more than 40% public funds, according to an analysis by financial-aid expert Mark Kantrowitz—and they're willing to fight to ensure that those dollars don't decline. Members of Congress, who count an average of 11 institutions of higher ed in their districts, don't want to see those dollars disappear either. In the school year ending in 2012, the median congressional district received \$167 million in federal higher-education aid.

That reality has long shaped how lawmakers think about these issues. In 2008, the campus lobby fought hard for the passage of a law that banned the Department of Education from using existing data, like income information from the Social Security Administration, to track schools and answer tough questions like whether graduates of a given program made enough to cover their student debt. In the past few months, the campus lobby has fought the Obama plan to rate colleges because—what else?—it says the feds don't have the data to do it well. "It's infuriating," says Amy Laitinen, a scholar at the New America Foundation. "Higher ed is as well organized as industries like oil or tobacco, but people don't think of it that way, so it goes unchecked."

## How to Value a College Degree?

IT'S HARD TO MISS THE RICH AND UNEXPECTED irony in the fact that much of the American academic cosmos is resisting a President it almost

universally supported through two elections. But Obama isn't backing down yet. While he needs an act of Congress to tie the rating system to financial payments, he doesn't need permission to create the system in the first place. And for now, the Department of Education is charging ahead. It has said that it will publish a draft version of the plan this fall and that the final version will go live in time for the 2015–16 school year. Terry Hartle, senior vice president of the American Council on Education, the mother ship of higher-education associations in Washington, says that while his organization is "totally opposed to the idea" of the ratings, the most he can do now is try to delay it.

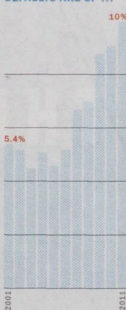
The battle over the rating plan has therefore shifted in recent months from whether it will happen to how it will take shape. What metrics will the government use? How much weight will be put on each measure? Which colleges will be compared with one another? How will the rating system work as both a guide for students and a tool for accountability?

Consider, for example, the particularly slippery problem of measuring how well a school's students do after graduation. Rewarding colleges whose graduates go on to have higher incomes, as measured by state wage records or campus surveys, could have the effect of punishing schools like Lesley, whose graduates are more likely to pursue important but lower-paid careers in teaching, therapy, the arts or social work. But Department of Education officials say omitting that data isn't the right answer either. Research shows that many students, particularly those from low-income families for whom a college degree is the only ticket to the middle class, use available data about graduates' income to choose schools, programs and majors.

There is also the risk of imposing perverse incentives on academia. If the new ratings reward schools for increasing their graduation rates, what's to keep administrators from pressuring professors to lower their standards and simply shepherd more kids across the finish line? Washington's obsession with testing in lower schools led to an outbreak of cheating, often led by teachers, around the country in the past decade. "Why are we letting data geeks determine how we value an education?" asks David Warren, president of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities. "It's not a quantifiable product."

But that view is also no solution for the next generation of students who—the statistics clearly suggest—are headed for an adulthood saddled in debt. While it may be impossible to put a number on the value of a great professor or the lessons learned in a dorm, other factors, like future income and monthly student-loan payments, are as quantifiable as can be. And no matter how good the college years, rewarding memories won't erase the debt.

## STUDENT-LOAN DEFAULTS ARE UP ...



## BUT A DEGREE IS MORE VITAL THAN EVER

**\$17,500**

Difference in average, annual, full-time earnings between young adults ages 25 to 32 with a college degree and those in the same age group with only a high school diploma

SOURCES: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION; PEW RESEARCH CENTER; COLLEGEBOARD.ORG

LET

DARKNESS IS OFTEN TREATED AS EVIL, A VAST UNKNOWN AND

THERE

THE ULTIMATE SPIRITUAL ENEMY. BUT AS BARBARA BROWN TAYLOR

BE

BELIEVES, IT MAY SAVE US ALL BY ELIZABETH DIAS/CLARKESVILLE

NIGHT





IT'S 10:45 ON A SUNDAY NIGHT WHEN Barbara Brown Taylor sets off from her front porch. The lights in her northern Georgia farmhouse are off, the chickens have been cooped, and her husband Ed has cleaned the kitchen and gone upstairs to bed. A waning moon will not rise for hours. Time for a walk.

Most spiritual seekers spend their lives pursuing enlightenment. But this Easter-tide, Taylor, who ranks among America's leading theologians in encouraging believers and nonbelievers not only to seek the light but to face the darkness too, something that 21st-century Americans tend to resist. For the past four years, the popular 62-year-old preacher and New York Times best-selling author has explored wild caves, lived as if blind, stared into her darkest emotions and, over and over, simply walked out into the night. The reasons, she says, are that contemporary spirituality is too feel-good, that darkness holds more lessons than light and that contrary to what many of us have long believed, it is sometimes in the bleakest void that God is nearest.

Few who have heard or read Taylor are surprised that she is nudging people down a path toward endarkenment. For years, her sermons have been required reading at seminaries nationwide, and she often lectures at Princeton, Duke and the National Cathedral in Washington. She is the most requested Sunday speaker at New York's Chautauqua Institution and draws both atheists and divinity students to her book signings. And 13 books on, she has chronicled her own fascinating and complex faith journey for hundreds of thousands of readers. Taylor, says Randall Balmer, chair of Dartmouth's department of religion, "belongs in the pantheon of spiritual writers that includes such luminaries as the late Will Campbell, Anne Lamott and Frederick Buechner. She doesn't shy away from big issues, and her honesty is disarming."

Certainly, Taylor's new memoir, *Learning to Walk in the Dark*—on spirituality and self-help shelves in time for Good Friday—challenges the broad theological belief that darkness is evil, scary and just plain bad. But she is also taking on the sometimes far-too-sunny fashion in which

churches tell their most important stories. It is easy to forget, amid "the Easter lilies, the sound of trumpets and bright streaming light," she notes, that the Resurrection happened in a dark cave. "God and darkness have been friends for a long time," Taylor says. "It's just one nighttime story after another—amazing."

### NIGHT-LIGHTS AND DARK PLACES

FROM THE MOMENT GOD DECLARED, "LET there be light," Scripture christened light as holy and condemned darkness to hell. The Christian liturgy soaked in the theme in the centuries that followed. The Book of Common Prayer addresses God as "O Light" and begs, "Be our light in the darkness, O Lord." Hymns followed suit, from "Amazing Grace"—"When we've been there 10,000 years/Bright shining as the sun"—to the hit "In the Light" from Christian hip-hop band dc Talk's 1995 album *Jesus Freak*. The message is hard to miss: if you are in the dark, you are not with God.

But Taylor sees it differently. As impossible as it is to imagine faith without light,

## FOLLOWING DARKNESS WHERE SHE LEADS

Everyone will seek the dark differently, but here are some ways to begin



### WALK SLOWLY AT NIGHT

Tread carefully, and do not be over-confident. It is about the journey, not the finish. Pause: What do you smell? Hear? Taste?

"How do we develop the courage to walk in the dark if we are never asked to practice?"



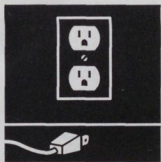
### WATCH THE MOONRISE

It takes some planning. The moon appears on its own schedule.

"Nothing reminds me that I am an earthling like seeing the full moon. Years of Christian training fall at my feet like paper clothes set on fire by sight. I want to dance and shake a rattle."

it is equally hard to imagine a world without darkness. We are taught to fear darkness as children, she says, when parents line the halls to the bathroom with night-lights to scare away the closet monsters. As we grow older, the monsters take a different shape: darkness descends with the call that a loved one has cancer, months of unemployment, a child with an addiction or an unanswered prayer. Taylor's own darkness extends to anything that scares her, and that includes the absence of God, dementia, the melting of polar ice caps and what it will feel like to die.

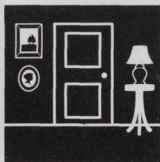
On a very practical level, she says, we pay a high price to shut out the darkness. We glue our eyes to screens by day, while electric light hampers our ability to sleep at night. Then, when we lie awake with all our fears, we turn to solitaire or to sleep aids to cope. Our spiritual avoidance of the dark may be even more dangerous. Our culture's ability to tolerate sadness is weak. As individuals, we often run away from it. "We are supposed to get over it, fix it, purchase something, exercise, do whatever it takes to become less sad," she says.



#### UNPLUG ALL YOUR DEVICES AT NIGHT

Phone chargers, printers, digital clocks, tablets, laptops, coffeepots—everything in our homes glows, flashes or shines.

*"How did I ever mistake them for dark? One by one I unplug them all... When all the lights are off, there is still plenty of light left, both inside and outside of me."*



#### SIT IN A CLOSET

It is often as close to a cave as city dwellers can get.

*"Sitting deep in the heart of Organ Cave, I let this sink in: new life starts in the dark. Whether it is a seed in the ground, a baby in the womb or Jesus in the tomb, it starts in the dark."*

All quotes from Taylor's new book, *Learning to Walk in the Dark*.

"Turning in to darkness, instead of away from it, is the cure for a lot of what ails me. Because I have a deep need to be in control of things, to know where I am going, to be sure of my destination, to get there efficiently, to have all the provisions I need, to do it all without help—and you can't do any of that in the dark."

Taylor is reviving an ancient idea in Christian theology, one that the mystics of the Middle Ages understood: darkness holds divine mystery. As she writes in her book, "I have learned things in the dark that I could never have learned in the light, things that have saved my life over and over again, so that there is really only one logical conclusion. I need darkness as much as I need light."

The preacher in Taylor points out that darkness was often the setting for humanity's closest encounters with the divine. God appeared to Abraham in the night and promised him descendants more numerous than the stars. The exodus from Egypt happened at night. God met Moses in the thick darkness atop Mount Sinai to hand down the Ten Commandments. The

apostle Paul's conversion happened after he lost his sight. Jesus was born beneath a star and resurrected in the darkness of a cave. "If we turn away from darkness on principle," she asks, "doing everything we can to avoid it because there is simply no telling what it contains, isn't there a chance we are running away from God?"

Taylor has always inhabited the edge of mainstream Christian spirituality. She questioned biblical narratives as a child. Her first short story, written when

she was 8, pondered the naming of the animals in the Garden of Eden, why some things got feathers, others got scales and still others got skin. In high school she was baptized in a Baptist church, but it wasn't until she arrived at Emory University and saw religion professors on the quad protesting the Vietnam War that she decided to really seek God. "To be a Christian in those days was to be adventurous. It was to be countercultural. It was to be really out there," she recalls. "I wanted to know more, what gave them that kind of independence, what gave them that moral sense."

She followed her intuition to Yale Divinity School while planning to be a writer, not a minister. Her three years there brought as much personal change as theological immersion: a marriage and a divorce, an Episcopal Church vote allowing women to become priests and, soon after, her first real sermon. Only seven people attended the service, and while she does not remember what she preached ("I'm sure it was the most awful, full nine servings on a plate, everything a seminarian ever learned and forgot about Jesus," she says), someone asked her for a copy of her message afterward. "That's when I switched my focus. I was still writing short stories, but the sermons were selling," she says. "I sobered up and got ordained."

The priesthood was a crash course in facing life's dark corners. Taylor worked as a hospital chaplain, visiting patients and families in neonatal intensive-care units and psych wards. She then spent nearly 10 years as a priest at All Saints Episcopal Church, a 2,000-strong congregation in downtown Atlanta, leading worship and doing twin funerals for victims of AIDS—one for the gay community, one for family members who often covered up the cause of death. She also married again, and she and her new husband moved upstairs.

There is not a more charming, idyllic-looking church than the one she was called to lead in Georgia's Habersham County. Grace Calvary Episcopal, a tiny white chapel with tall, clear glass windows and the state's oldest pipe organ, is nestled in the pines of Clarkesville, pop. 1,726. It was her dream parish; members would leave baskets of homegrown zucchini on her porch,

**A WALK IN THE DARK  
CAN LEAD TO WISDOM,  
DELIVER US FROM  
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BELIEVES, BRING US  
CLOSER TO GOD**

and together they started a hospice center and counseling service.

Taylor's congregation learned early on that she could preach the house down. Her funny, matter-of-fact sermons, bearing just a trace of Southern twang, were both mercifully short and reliably powerful. (Her writing had years earlier attracted the notice of author Annie Dillard, who got her into the storied Yaddo writing colony.) Her favorite sermons were never for Easter or Christmas but for the Sundays in ordinary time. "We had, for five years, just the happiest thing in the world," she recalls.

But in 1996, a Baylor University survey named Taylor one of the 12 most effective preachers in the English-speaking world—the only woman alongside Billy Graham, Fred Craddock and John Stott. It wasn't long before minivans of seminarians started rolling up on Sundays to hear her preach. Then came the multitudes. Soon so many people were showing up that the church schedule grew to four services every Sunday; Taylor wore an orthopedic girdle under her vestments to help her through so many hours on her feet. But the tiny chapel seats only 85, and not everyone was happy that Grace-Calvary had almost overnight become a must stop on the sawdust trail.

The congregation was soon anything but small and intimate. One parishioner, Taylor recalls, refused to expand the building just so Taylor could develop a "preaching emporium." The perfection unraveled, and it became clear that Taylor, despite her prowess in the pulpit—or because of it—could no longer lead her flock. When nearby Piedmont College asked her to lead its newly formed religion department in 1997, she took the job. Today, Grace-Calvary does not even mention her in an online video of its 176-year history.

She is reluctant to discuss the details of this chapter. Preachers too often fall into exhibitionism, she says, and she wants people to face their own rocky journeys in their own ways. (In her book about that time, *Leaving Church*, she takes nearly all the blame for the breakup. It resembled, she said, "a lovers' quarrel.") But the loss of faith as she knew it was devastating: at times, God even felt gone altogether. "I

cannot say for sure when my reliable ideas about God began to slip away, but the big chest I used to keep them in is smaller than a shoebox now," she writes. "After years of teaching other people what words like *sin*, *salvation*, *repentance* and *grace* really meant, those same words began to mean less and less to me ... but since the religion I know best has a lot to say about losing a precondition for finding, I can live with that."

Like many Americans, Taylor may have lost the church, but she is far from faithless. She prays these days to the Holy Spirit, which she sees as both the universally divine and the hardest to understand, and says her job is to trust its movement. She attends church two or three times a month, rarely at the same place twice. Her spiritual guides include naturalists and cosmologists, everyone from physicist Chet Raymo to Tibetan nun Pema Chodron. During a recent late-night jaunt, she looked heavenward and realized that the important thing about the stars is not "the naming but the noticing," the millennia of people who have watched them and named them before us. "It fights against the ego," she says.

She still lives outside Clarksville and has extended her preaching to a much larger audience. Her latest three books offer a Christianity that is found in everyday life, not just in church. Even she admits that her place on the faith spectrum is hard to describe. "I am too religious for the spiritual-but-not-religious crowd, and I get called new age, pantheist, witchy by the religious crowd," she says. "Christian tradition is where I have gotten the teaching that has allowed me both to claim Christian tradition and to move out from it."

## A NEW NOCTURNE

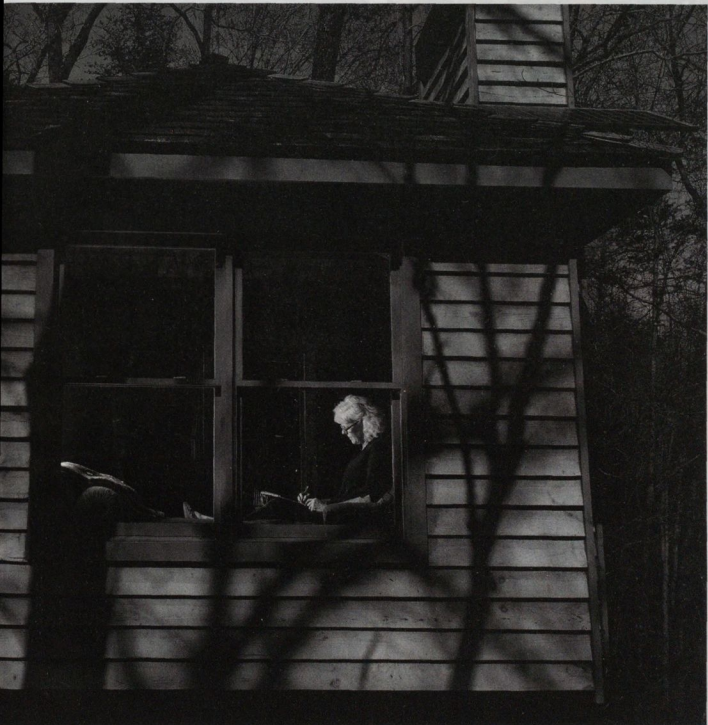
MOST OF THE WORLD'S MAJOR RELIGIONS have something helpful to say about finding God in the shadows. Gautama Buddha meditated in the caves of northern India. Muhammad received the Koran in a cave outside Mecca. St. Francis prayed in a tiny grotto near Assisi. Darkness is inviting everyone in to know God, Taylor believes, to heal us of our weaknesses and strengthen us for the journey.

But if Taylor speaks to all spiritual

seekers, her words are poignant for a Christianity in the middle of a semi-millennial idea shuffle. Whole denominations are facing deep challenges, she notes. Attendance in the mainline churches continues to shrink, demographic power is shifting to the southern hemisphere, and charismatic voices claiming divine experience are rising both in the U.S. and abroad. "While the dark night of the soul is usually understood to descend on one person at a time, there are clearly times when whole communities of people lose sight of the sun in ways that unnerve







them," Taylor writes. "The one thing most emerging Christians will say is that the faith they inherited from their elders is all worn out."

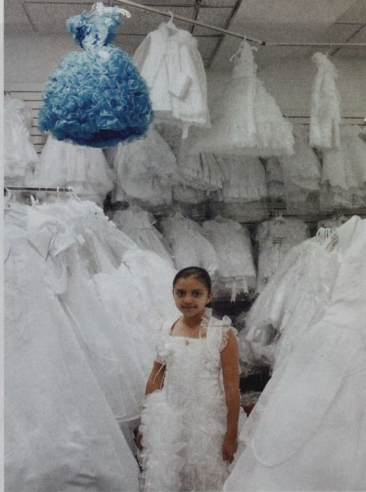
Taylor hopes that her journey prompts others to follow in their own ways. That may not mean real-life spelunking or wandering through the woods at night. The quest is too personal for replication and involves both physical and emotional risk, for you may not find what you want. But that is precisely the point. "If you are in the dark, it does not mean that you have failed and that you have taken some

#### A PRIESTESS IN THE WILDERNESS

*Taylor spent hours in her writing cabin, both to experience the night and then to draft her book*

terrible misstep," she says. "For many years I thought my questions and my doubt and my sense of God's absence were all signs of my lack of faith, but now I know this is the way the life of the spirit goes."

Taylor is settling in for a long journey. In her backyard she is planting a moon garden filled with pagoda dogwood, white rosebushes, nocturnal phlox, gardenia, pearly everlasting, angel's trumpet and night-blooming moonflowers. When she walks in the evenings now, they will greet her, a reminder that darkness gives way to beauty and sometimes truth as well. ■



BUSINESS

# MERCADO OF AMERICA

Traditional malls in the U.S. are struggling. Developer José de Jesús Legaspi is remaking them to meet the tastes of the new American consumer

BY SAM FRIZZELL

**B**UILT IN 1962, SEMINARY SOUTH WAS THE FIRST mall in Fort Worth and, by all accounts, the archetypal American shopping center. At its peak, it was home to a Sears, a JCPenney and a Dillard's. There was a bowling alley, a movie theater and a space for the Fort Worth Opera to practice. Families took their children on weekends, and neighbors mingled. But like many other malls across the country, the shopping center began a steep decline in the 1990s. Over the next decade, big department stores left or closed. Gang activity became a problem, and shoppers stopped coming. "It's where I used to buy my jeans as a kid," recalls Joel Burns, the city councilman for the district. "It was a nice little shopping area."

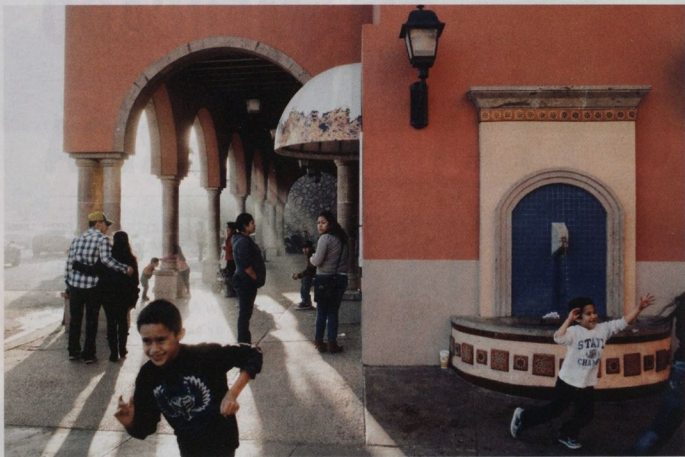
And now it is again. Seminary South has been reborn as La Gran Plaza, a sprawling, 1.2 million sq.-ft. (111,000 sq.m) hive of commerce and community. Most Sunday mornings, 25,000 to 30,000 shoppers pack into the mall to socialize, eat and shop. To pull off this feat, the mall's new owner has tapped into the most powerful new demographic in the U.S. economy: Hispanic consumers. Refashioned as a cultural center, it has at its core the *mercado*, or market, a labyrinthine three-story bazaar packed with small storefronts selling everything from piñatas to PlayStations.

The success of La Gran Plaza and similar malls sprinkled across the southern U.S. underscores both the opportunity and the challenge of connecting with Hispanic consumers. One in six Americans is Hispanic, up from 1 in 16 in 1980, according to the most recent Census data. The group is projected to have an annual buying power of

**Stop and shop** Clockwise from top left: Jarritos soda bottles; Samantha Lujan tries on a dress for her First Communion; cowboy boots; Legaspi, owner of La Gran Plaza; Catholic artifacts; Jorge Barraza sells cowboy gear

Photographs by Ross McDonnell for TIME





**Something for everyone** La Gran Plaza in Fort Worth is organized to attract even family members who aren't there to shop

\$1.6 trillion by 2018—more than any other minority group—according to the University of Georgia's Selig Center for Economic Growth. Companies from fast-food chains to cell-phone carriers have poured billions of dollars into marketing to this demographic, mostly by airing Spanish-language commercials. But the man behind La Gran Plaza's transformation says the right model requires more than merely adopting a Latin accent or turning a few exclamation points upside down. For him, it means going all in.

"UNAS FRESAS CON CREMA." JOSÉ DE JESÚS Legaspi reaches for a cup of fresh strawberries soaked in Mexican sweet cream. "Food is very nostalgic," he says. "My mother would send me to the *mercado* to buy the honey or meat or the tortillas for the day. And then I would buy a little cup of fruit just for me." Legaspi, 61, owns La Gran Plaza mall and eight others like it. As he walks, talking about square footage

and foot traffic, he periodically bounces down to grab a discarded napkin or Jarritos soda bottle from the floor.

Legaspi grew up in a small town in Zacatecas state in central Mexico, the son of a schoolteacher and a storekeeper. He sold tostadas at lunchtime and delivered newspapers for pocket money. At 14, Legaspi and his seven siblings piled into a bus headed for the U.S. His father, an American citizen by birth who spoke no English, then led the family across the border on foot through

a checkpoint into California through San Ysidro, south of San Diego. Legaspi, who graduated from Loyola Marymount University in 1974, went into the real estate business in the late 1970s, helping Mexican food chain El Pollo Loco secure storefronts. (Legaspi is a U.S. citizen through his father.)

In 2004, Legaspi began looking at dilapidated malls as possible investments. He toured Fort Worth block by block, counting strollers, visiting Spanish Masses as well as schools and popular Mexican restaurants. By November he had purchased the near dead mall and begun pitching his concept to local officials, including the district's city council representative (Wendy Davis, who has since gone on to greater prominence as a Texas state senator and gubernatorial candidate). A \$22 million city grant ultimately helped fund the revitalization. "We have more than got our money back from this deal," says Robert Sturns, who coordinates business

**'THE AMERICAN DREAM IS NOT TO OWN YOUR HOME. THE AMERICAN DREAM IS TO OWN YOUR OWN BUSINESS.'**

—JOSÉ DE JESÚS LEGASPI



development for the city. The mall employs more than 1,000 people and is, according to Sturns, a key part of the region's tax base.

Since then, Legaspi's privately held company has revitalized malls in Los Angeles, Phoenix, Atlanta, Oklahoma City and Houston with mariachi bands, Catholic holiday services and regional food. Legaspi says the malls have to offer something for multiple generations at the same time. That can mean spots for elderly patrons to sit for hours while their children and grandchildren shop. That also means finding space to accommodate a wider range of family needs, including grocery stores, medical offices and DMVs.

Most of Legaspi's malls also feature a *mercado* selling puffy *quinceañera* dresses, tall racks of cowboy boots, cowboy hats and imported candy. Patrons can haggle with shopkeepers over car rims or horse saddles. The malls also function as incubators for small businesses mostly run by immigrant families. "The American Dream is not to own a home," Legaspi says. "The American dream is to own your own business. To have a hold of your own destiny. That's how we build the *mercado*."

In Mexican neighborhoods Legaspi sells Mexican, and in Caribbean neighborhoods he sells Caribbean. But the lingua franca in all his malls is Spanish. The formula appears to be working: he says most of his nine locations see 4 million to 6 million visitors annually—that's per mall—up from practically nothing at many of them. Mainstream stores in the malls, such as Burlington Coat Factory and Foot Locker, meanwhile, have seen a 12% to 20% increase in foot traffic. Legaspi says his company is profitable and plans to continue expanding.

Struggling retailers are encouraged too. JCPenney, which has had several stores in Legaspi developments, now views Hispanic women as its core customers. That means selling apparel that fits differently, remodeling outlets in Hispanic areas first and retooling its marketing. The company says its 150 Hispanic-designated stores are among JCPenney's best-performing outlets. "We know that our core customer is a hardworking mother," says Lyris Leos, director of multicultural marketing at JCPenney. "And we know that she is most likely Latina."

SANDRA BORRELL, 36, SITS IN FRONT OF Melrose Shoes at La Gran Plaza waiting to start her shift. It's early on a Sunday, and the ubiquitous mariachi music hasn't yet

begun, nor have the crowds arrived from Mass. It's still quiet, and Borrell wouldn't mind if it stayed that way. "I'm not really into the Mexican music and stuff. I'm a country gal," says the second-generation Mexican American. "We were raised the American way."

Most of the growth in the Hispanic population in the U.S. is now being driven by children born here rather than by migrants. Two-thirds of Hispanics ages 16 to 25 are native born. That has profound implications for how they self-identify: 66% of Hispanics born in the U.S. to immigrant parents view themselves as "typical American," according to a recent Pew Research survey. "The early part of this group of young generations born in the United States is really starting to enter adulthood. They've been educated in the U.S. and speak English," says Mark Hugo Lopez, the director of Hispanic research at the Pew Research Center.

That means what is working for Legaspi now may not in the future. "Ethnic businesses make a lot of sense right now, but in another generation the Latin American enclaves that we see in places like Fort Worth and Oklahoma City are going to look like what a Little Italy might look like now," says Jacob Vigdor, a professor of public policy at Duke University. "They're going to go off and join everybody else."

And while the malls may be packed on the weekends, that doesn't mean people are rushing to buy more expensive merchandise. The mall sells an average of less than \$200 of merchandise for every square foot of space—far less than the average in the Dallas-Fort Worth region, about \$435 per sq. ft., according to Green Street Advisors. Legaspi's Desert Sky Mall in Phoenix has managed close to \$270 per sq. ft., but the average for the Phoenix metropolitan area is \$485 per sq. ft.

As much as Legaspi is benefiting from demographic changes, he may also be subject to them. "I think the kids who were born here want what all kids in the same

socioeconomic status want," says Albert Saiz, an MIT professor who studies real estate and immigration. "As a consumption market, they're pretty much like any American. To be honest, this is a moving target that's already almost gone."

IF THAT IDEA WORRIES LEGASPI, HE doesn't show it. Back in La Gran Plaza's executive offices, above the mariachi stage, a sprawling calendar displays events planned for every week through 2015. It includes the Día de los Muertos, or the Day of the Dead, scheduled for November this year and next, as well as Las Posadas, La Gran Plaza's re-enactment of Joseph and Mary looking for lodging before Jesus' birth. "We literally go from store to store asking for lodging," Legaspi explains. "The tradition here is that eight stores tell us no and the ninth store tells us yes."

Legaspi is planning World Cup screenings this summer along with the mall's marketing director, Miguel Calera. "How do we sustain and maintain our customer base, and then how do we start testing who else can we bring in?" asks Legaspi. He points at the tentative schedule of World Cup broadcasts in the mall. Ever keen to diversify, he adds, "We've got to have the U.S. [matches] in here, always."

Below, the shopping center is packed with families. In Rosita's Western Wear, Jorge Barraza stands behind the counter rubbing a dry sponge along the brim of a cowboy hat. He dusts off the felt and then wraps his hand in packing tape, patting down the hat until it's spotless. The 19-year-old is sporting a black cowboy hat with a wide brim, a gray suit jacket and a preserved scorpion ensconced in a belt buckle he bought in Durango, Mexico. "I consider myself a cowboy, whether Mexican or from here," he says. Barraza grew up in Durango but has lived in Texas for three years. "I don't want to look cowboy-cowboy. I want to look my-own-way-cowboy."

A lot of shoppers in the mall, especially the old-timers, look cowboy-cowboy. Most younger people don't look cowboy at all. Not far away, Gerardo Rodriguez, 15, is watching people sing karaoke in Spanish. "When I was in Mexico, I would walk around down there, and you'd always see people dressed nicely wearing hats, and everyone knows the song," he says. "Coming here, this reminds me of where I'm from. It's my own heritage." ■

## IN MEXICAN NEIGHBORHOODS LEGASPI SELLS MEXICAN, AND IN CARIBBEAN NEIGHBORHOODS HE SELLS CARIBBEAN

# The Culture

## Oliver's Twist HBO bets on a *Daily Show* alum to make bad news funny

By Jack Dickey

NOT SO LONG AGO, REALLY—WITHIN THE LIFETIME of many an American adult—no national broadcast mattered more than the evening news. The audiences were wide, thanks to free over-the-air TV, rapt and loyal to the serious American man (and it was always a man) recounting the happenings and issues of the day before dinnertime.

But that was the TV-news landscape 50 years back, and this is now, when the informed get their news from their phones and turn to TV for *Teen Mom*. So HBO has flipped the script, adding to its lineup a live half-hour newscast, set to premiere April 27, hosted by a goofy Brit who, by the way, deplors the state of news and American politics. It will air once a week, Sunday nights. At 11. Welcome to 2014, Cronkite.

Sitting behind the desk of *Last Week Tonight With John Oliver* will be, well, John Oliver, a 36-year-old actor, writer and stand-up comic most familiar to audiences from his recurring role on NBC's *Community* as hapless psych professor Ian Duncan and from his seven-year stint on *The Daily Show With Jon Stewart*, which he guest-hosted in summer 2013. His memorable bits there included visits to Australia to report on gun control and to Gabon to cover a humanitarian-aid crisis; throughout each he remained droll yet withering, cheeky yet full of latent outrage. Within *The Daily Show*'s deep all-time roster, this comportment is Oliver's hallmark.

It's a good time to be part of that comedy tree.

While Jon Stewart and his band of correspondents plug away as usual on the flagship program, its alumni have landed plenty of high-profile gigs, none bigger than Stephen Colbert's call-up from his 11:30 p.m. Comedy Central show to David Letterman's on CBS, starting in 2015.

Yet while Colbert and Stewart continue to make hay by mocking the way news gets reported, Oliver goes another way, reporting the news with all the bemused incredulosity it deserves. In a recent interview at HBO's New York City offices, Oliver offered a commentary on General Motors' embattled new CEO Mary Barra, its first female leader, under whose guidance GM recalled 2.6 million cars with defective ignition switches linked to 13 deaths. "This is a huge moment: Mary Barra, a female CEO, has delivered an apology exactly as sh-tty as a male CEO. She hasn't just broken the glass ceiling, she's been ejected through the glass windshield."

It aids Oliver's humor that he cannot really help but seem flummoxed by the world around him. Tall and thin, with glasses and shaggy hair, often dressed in the most modest of coats and ties, he indeed looks the part of a community-college instructor. (So what if he graduated from Cambridge?) And an Englishman at large in the U.S., trying to cover its politics at the moment of an ascendent, frenzied far right and calamitous congressional gridlock? You're laughing already.

Oliver, who is "curious yet nauseated" about national affairs, hopes his show will turn fury funny





Then there is his accent. When he's performing and worked up just a bit, everything he says just *sounds* funny. His voice sits somewhere between regal and froglike, as though the princess quit in the middle of the kiss. Oliver explains it as a slurry of British tongues with dollops of Birmingham, where he was born, Bedford (a town an hour north of London), where he grew up, and Liverpool, where his parents come from.

Oliver did not make it to the U.S. until 2006—his first visit came at Stewart's behest. At Cambridge, he had studied English and served as vice president of the Footlights, the student theatrical club that before him had produced Douglas Adams, Emma Thompson and half of Monty Python. After college he kicked around the English stand-up scene. A recommendation to *The Daily Show* from Ricky Gervais helped Oliver land an audition.

Tim Carvell, the executive producer of *Last Week Tonight*, who was then a writer for *The Daily Show*, remembers that day well. "He wasn't doing what most prospective correspondents would do, which was imitate another correspondent. He just started kind of riffing with Jon, not following the script. And I thought, Oh, well, this isn't going to work. Obviously, I was very happy to be wrong about that." Carvell and Oliver soon became office mates, and when Stewart asked Oliver to guest-host over the summer while he directed a movie in Jordan, Carvell happened to be the

head writer. The two found a rhythm together, hence Oliver's decision to hire Carvell when he left *The Daily Show*. "Or I just happened to be within his line of sight when he got the job," Carvell says. "A path-of-least-resistance thing."

Oliver says he took the guest-hosting job from Stewart last summer wanting nothing to change. "Jon had said before he left, 'We should talk when I get back about what you want to do next.' And I said, 'No, no. I want everything to go back to how it is, every chair in the same place.' And he said, 'We'll have to talk about it, because I don't know if that'll be possible anymore.'"

Stewart was right: Oliver broke out, earning raves from critics and fans. He says something within him had shifted too, and he knew after the summer that he wanted to try his own show with his own sensibility. HBO was one of a few suitors that came calling. (HBO is a unit of Time Warner, the parent company of TIME.)

Soon Oliver put out a call for production staff (from comedy and news backgrounds) and hired eight writers by way of a blind reading—*The Voice* for political satire. Carvell and Oliver wanted a variety of styles: one writer came from *Vanity Fair's* website, another from a speechwriting gig at the Environmental Protection Agency.

Since mid-March, Oliver has been putting on test shows on the vacant talk-show set of former *Real Housewife* Bethenny Frankel. "We're trying to

build the machine that will one day make fun of stories which haven't happened yet. Its most important task is to take something really depressing in one end and spit jokes out on the other, in about a hundred different ways." To keep informed, he has cable news on in the background all day, reads the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* and pokes around on Politico. ("None of this is good," he says. "Degrees of poison.")

What's his method? "You want to find a comic take on something incredibly serious." Oliver is currently working up material on the Indian elections—"Oh, we've heard all the jokes about it. What new satirical take are you going to bring?" he deadpans—and taped pieces on other issues of importance to him, including immigration reform and the gap between America's rich and poor.

Oliver did not earn permanent U.S. resident status until 2009; he has firsthand knowledge of the arbitrary and confusing American immigration system. And for the son of two schoolteachers, meager estate taxes hit close to home: "You're basically creating the very same landed gentry as a country that you were so rightly anxious to move away from a few hundred years ago."

Listen to him long enough and Oliver's jokes begin to sound—in spite of that croaky voice, the laugh lines and a curse word here and there—like something familiar and a little unexpected: the news.

## Daily Show Dispatch. Jon Stewart's progeny



**ROB CORDROY**

A correspondent from 2002 to '06, he's been a sitcom staple and starred in *Hot Tub Time Machine*

**KRISTEN SCHAA**

A contributor since 2008, she's landed roles in *Despicable Me 2*, *30 Rock*, *Ty Story 3* and *Boa's*

**STEVE CARVELL**

On the show from 1999 to 2005, he gained stardom with *The Office* and *The 40-Year-Old Virgin*

**OLIVIA MUNN**

On for just 18 months in 2010 and 2011, she's now a regular on HBO's Aaron Sorkin drama *The Newsroom*

**ED HELMS**

After his 2002-'06 correspondent stint, he had huge hits with *The Office* and *The Hangover* franchise

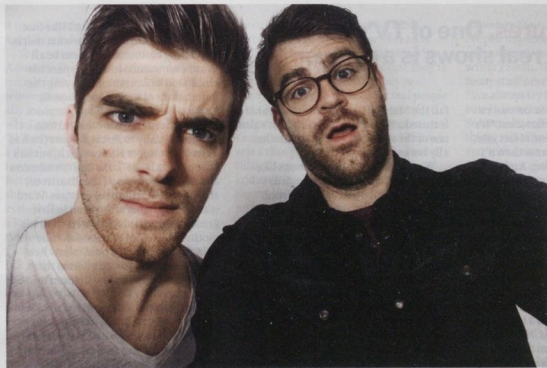
**STEPHEN COLBERT**

He battled with Stewart from 1997 to 2005 before landing *The Colbert Report* and, next, the *Late Show*



# Music

noiziveleT



## POP CULTURE

### #Selfie Absorbed This new hit is smarter than it sounds

By Sam Lansky

SELFIES HAVE BEEN LINKED TO MENTAL illness, narcissism and addiction—none of which is news to the Chainsmokers, a New York City–based DJ duo who are rising to success with their infuriatingly infectious single “#SELFIE.” The song is pure audio click bait, from the hashtag in the title to its focus on the neologism du jour: Building on a stubborn earworm of a synth break, the two producers trade the euphoric vocals that often accompany electronic-dance-music singles for a satirical spoken-word track of a girl trying to take the perfect photo during a night out in a club. “Can you guys help me pick a filter?” she draws. “I wanna look tan.”

Novelty dance songs are nothing new; hits from Aqua’s “Barbie Girl” to Psy’s

#### GO AHEAD AND TAKE ONE

Chainsmokers  
Andrew Taggart (left) and Alex  
Pall popped into  
TIME’s New York  
City studio to click  
their own portrait  
with the help of  
Mark Peckmezian



“Gangnam Style” have stamped radio, fueled by slick production and a catchy hook. But the Chainsmokers—that’s Alex Pall and Andrew Taggart—have nailed something trickier than the average hit. “#SELFIE” is arch social commentary dressed up as a floor filler. The girl (an uncredited vocal by their friend Alexis Killacam) hits just the right note of navel-gazing ennui as she obsesses over captions and the dubious affections of some dude named Jason. It’s hyperbolic; also, it rings spookily familiar to a generation growing weary of selfie-driven self-involvement.

The Chainsmokers’ ascent to stardom is being shepherd by legendary DJ Steve Aoki through his Dim Mak Records label. Aoki’s pal Paris Hilton tackled related subject matter in a surreal 2012 song, “Drunk Text,” which feels almost outmoded here in the Snapchat era. But “Drunk Text” didn’t take off, whereas “#SELFIE” reached No. 1 on the dance/electronic chart and is now a Top 20 radio hit. It belongs there, and not just because it’s timely. “#SELFIE” works because Pall and Taggart were clever enough to take the vanity pandemic that Instagram hath wrought and hold a mirror to it. Or, in this case, a front-facing camera. ■

## REVIEW

### Rock With Him, Yet Again

Old musicians don’t die or fade away—they just become franchises. *Xscape*, out May 13, is the latest in the biggest franchise of all: posthumous Michael Jackson albums. Epic Records mogul L.A. Reid worked with Timbaland to curate eight new tracks from Jackson’s vault of unreleased sessions, “contemporizing” the songs, which were recorded from 1983 to 1999.

To their credit, contemporized doesn’t mean gimmicky; even paint-by-numbers producer team Stargate went subtle, although it helps that Jackson’s voice is too singularly frenzied to be overshadowed by a mix. Consider “Love Never Felt So Good,” an opulent, warm disco-soul number, which evokes *Off the Wall* as much as dead-on 2014, because these days disco is so trendy it practically comes pretemporized. “Loving You” is even more earnest, its nostalgia only enhanced by the extramusical conditions.

Only “Blue Gangsta” sounds anachronistic, like Timbaland’s beatboxed-and-screwed trademark. It’s mostly safe and mercifully uncontroversial; as was Jackson’s last, the scandal is all confined to the music. Though the title track rages against “the man with the pen that writes the lies that hassle this man,” even then, it’s not too obtrusive to pop.

—KATHERINE ST. ASAPH



# Television

## Moving Pictures. One of TV's most emotionally real shows is a cartoon

By Lev Grossman

PENDLETON WARD, CREATOR OF THE TV show *Adventure Time*, likes fart jokes. "It's an art to perfect the best kind of fart joke. You can't go too gross, because then it's not a joke, it's just disgusting. And it's better when it's hidden. There were a lot of farts in the pilot that were just like..." Ward makes a nearly inaudible fart sound, a quiet puff: *whoo*. "Like when Princess Bubblegum comes into the last scene, there's a *whoo* noise. No one really even gets that one but me."

*Adventure Time*, in case you don't know it, is a cartoon about a 12-year-old boy named Finn and his best friend, a magic dog named Jake, who live in a land called Ooo. It has a lot of fart jokes. Now starting its sixth season, it's Cartoon Network's top-rated show among kids 9 to 14 and a bona fide pop-culture phenomenon: last

fall the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade featured a Finn-and-Jake balloon. It's also one of the strangest and most emotionally honest shows on TV.

Ward is a cartoonist who looks like a cartoonist. Only 31, he's rounded, ruffled, tousled and blond-bearded, with little round glasses and a peacefully eccentric demeanor—he cracks his knuckles a lot and sometimes spontaneously imitates a trombone, pretty convincingly. I asked how he got the unusual name Pendleton and he gave me a nonexplanation that is a good example of *Adventure Time*'s enigmatic, absurdist logic: "It's a blanket company. The story is that my mom had a blanket from Pendleton that was warm, and she wanted me to have a warm heart. But that story's made up. I told her that, and she was like,

'I don't remember that—but I like that. I'll tell people that.' So that's what that is."

Making cartoons appears to be all Ward ever wanted to do. He spent his childhood in San Antonio, laying the foundations of a truly encyclopedic knowledge of 1980s and 1990s comics, video games and basic-cable cartoons. He alludes casually to *Rescue Rangers* (he had a crush on Gadget Hackwrench, but he's "not proud of that"), *The Real Ghostbusters* and even *Hammerman*, the disastrous, short-lived MC Hammer cartoon. Ward was already doing animation in first grade, turning pads of Post-its from his mother's purse into flip books. "She was a single mom, and I would follow her everywhere. She would give me these books, and I would draw in them to keep myself busy."

Ward had the idea for *Adventure Time* in his senior year at Cal Arts, and after he graduated a studio called Frederator made it into a short that rapidly acquired a cult following on YouTube. On the strength of that, Cartoon Network picked



Flame Princess was briefly Finn's girlfriend; Finn still carries a torch

A self-portrait of the artist as a cartoon

it up and made it a show. Though not before Nickelodeon passed on it, twice.

You can see how it could be a tough sell: *Adventure Time* is a lot darker and more complex than you'd expect from a show where some of the characters are literally made of candy. "It has kind of a cute vibe," says Nick Jennings, the art director. "When you look at it you say, 'Oh, that's a little kids' show. Little mountains and funny rubber-armed characters and stuff.' But the content isn't little-kid." Take the show's bad guy, Ice King. He's definitely evil—he kidnaps princesses—but there's a lot of pathos to him too. He's a lonely, depressed old man who lives with penguins in an ice cave that has—somehow this is the most poignant touch—a drum set in one corner. Or take Ooo itself: it's fun and verdant, but every once in a while you spot a junked car or a busted old Mac Classic in the background, and slowly it dawns on you that what you're looking at is a postapocalyptic world built on the ruins of our own.

But for a show set in a magic post-

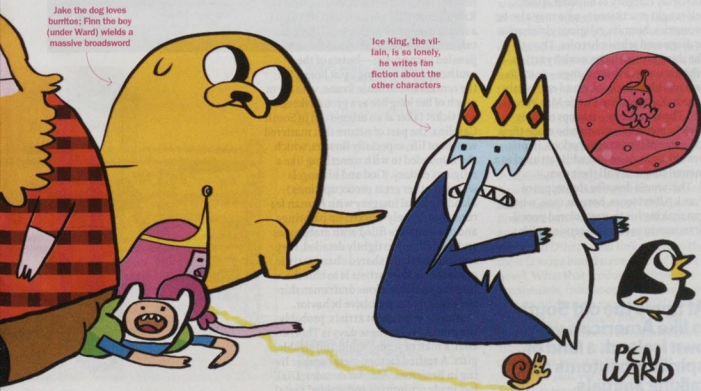
apocalyptic world, *Adventure Time* is fiercely committed to its own brand of realism. It has a lot of internal integrity. The fart jokes aren't there because they're funny—or not just because they're funny—they're there because real people fart a lot too. "We don't have a ton of cartoon logic," says Adam Muto, a co-executive producer of the show. "There was a thing where if anyone lifted something from offscreen, Pen would flag it and say, No, they need to be carrying that the entire time. Because why would they just pull it from offscreen?"

The realism extends to Finn and Jake, who have big emotions, and lots of them. *Adventure Time* is never winky or jokey or ironic. When something bad happens, they feel it. "The boarders [the show's storyboard artists] just pour themselves into it," says Kent Osborne, *Adventure Time*'s head of story. "They're using stuff that's happened to them and breakups and feelings that they have that they're still trying to work out."

While Ward grew up on cartoons,

*Adventure Time* often seems like an act of open rebellion against traditional cartooning—*cartoony* is a bad word in the writer's room. "Hammy, over-the-top cartoony stuff never appealed to me," he says. "We always try to break that and make sure that we turn clichés on their head." So sometimes Finn and Jake learn something, sometimes they don't. Episodes can end with a non sequitur or in the middle of a scene or a sentence. ("I think any episode that ends with them farting, that was Pen's suggestion," Osborne says.) In a couple of episodes, all the characters are flipped to the opposite sex: Finn and Jake become Fionna and Cake.

The show even rebels against itself. "Sometimes we'll forget it's called *Adventure Time* and just write whatever we want," Ward says. "Like just sitting and talking to bugs and being mokey and then maybe humming a tune—that kind of stuff. I think everyone feels what they're watching; everyone is empathizing with the characters. And my favorite way to feel is calm."



Jake the dog loves burritos; Finn the boy (under Ward) wields a massive broadsword

Ice King, the villain, is so lonely, he writes fan fiction about the other characters



# Art

## American Gothic. Fear, whimsy and sex link images of the old, weird South

By Richard Lacayo

EVEN NOW, WHEN SO MUCH OF THE South has been strip-malled, skyscrapered and paved over, we think of the place differently, as a part of the country with a dogged mystique, a permanent residue of idiosyncrasies and a particular burden of history. "When the Stars Begin to Fall: Imagination and the American South," an exhibition in New York City that continues through June 29 at the Studio Museum in Harlem, is about ways that African-American artists have tried to make use of the peculiar materials, both physical and psychological, that the Southern states have afforded them. Many of the 35 artists in the show, organized by Thomas J. Lax, actually live outside the region—Brooklyn seems to be a common fate—but all of them have a link of some kind to the place, whether by birth, upbringing or just as a source of inspiration. Quite a few fall into the unwieldy category of outsider artists: self-taught practitioners who may also be eccentrics, hermits, religious visionaries or diagnosed schizophrenics. Though the show also includes work by artists who are none of those things—some as famous, highly schooled and eminently sane as Kara Walker, Carrie Mae Weems and Theaster Gates—it keeps circling back to men and women who made their art, some of it pretty marvelous, in prisons or hospitals, or just while attuned to a mental frequency all their own.

This would describe the output of Frank Albert Jones, born in 1900, who began making his thorny colored-pencil drawings in 1964 while serving a life

sentence for murder at the Texas state penitentiary in Huntsville. Almost his entire body of work consists of intricately rendered imaginary buildings—haunted houses of incarceration—where every room is bordered with bristling red and blue points, like barbed wire. Jones called these places devil houses, and in each of their rooms he put abstracted representations of the ghosts that he called haints. He claimed to have seen them all his life and said they lured people in to "do bad things." If the devil houses are places where Jones sublimated his experience of prison—clocks figure in a lot of them—they work for us as strangely potent diagrams of a bristling inner life.

Those haints are a reminder that the South, or at least the old South, is at times something like America's very own Ireland, a land of spirits, phantoms and folk-tale talking animals. They turn up in the photographs of the multimedia artist Ralph Lemon. Here's a woman sitting on a sofa, a deer mask on her head; here are two men dressed as rabbits in the same paneled living room—beasts of the southern wild, turning up at home. For the remarkable Minnie Evans, who spent much of her long life as a groundskeeper and ticket taker at an arboretum in South Carolina, the part of nature that mattered was plant life, especially flowers, which she responded to with something like a religious ecstasy. (God and his angels were her other great preoccupations.) Blending floral imagery with human features, her densely worked-up paintings and drawings are filled with arabesques and medallions so tightly detailed, they remind you that a shared characteristic of a lot of outsider artists is to blur the line between fastidious draftsmanship and obsessive-compulsive behavior.

Among self-taught artists, probably the most famous these days is Thornton Dial, a man of sound mind and sizable gifts. A retired factory metalworker living in Bessemer, Ala., for decades, Dial has made sculptures and welded metal



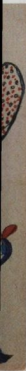
**A MINNIE EVANS, UNTITLED, 1945**

A self-taught artist who worked for many years at an arboretum, Evans returned again and again to drawings and paintings that combined floral imagery and human features



**At times the old South is like America's very own Ireland, a land of spirits, phantoms and talking animals**





▲ **KERRY JAMES MARSHALL, *BRIDE OF FRANKENSTEIN*, 2009**

A monumental woman who stirs up notions of black sexuality and the anxieties it has sometimes aroused in white culture



◀ **FRANK ALBERT JONES, *DEVIL'S GOT THE DRINKING WOMAN*, CIRCA 1965-69**

A convict whose specialty was bristling, imaginary buildings housing ghosts

wall assemblages so richly imagined and executed, they make self-training seem a much better idea than the M.F.A. program at Yale. His metal works made from scrap-heap materials are a sophisticated descendant of the "yard show" displays he saw in the African-American neighborhoods he grew up in, yards full of DIY sculptures and ragged glories his neighbors made from discarded household items. Some of that same spirit, a tender regard for things put aside, invests Dial's darkly radiant painting from 2013, *Old Documents*, in which bits of flotsam from his studio and relics of Bessemer are embedded in the paint like sedimentary layers of memory.

Even some of the academically trained artists in this show draw on folk-art traditions, though they take them down paths the folks may not have tried. Whatever else it is, the majestically strange wooden doll by the venerable L.A.-based artist John Outterbridge—*Untitled*, from the mid-1970s—is a hybrid of voodoo effigies and surrealist objects, like the perverse dolls that the German artist Hans Bellmer started making in the 1930s. In their different ways, shaman figures and Surrealist fetishes are both meant to tap into buried sources of power: magical, psychic or erotic. In that disturbing little mannequin, Outterbridge has his finger on all of them. Meanwhile, the well-established Chicago-based painter Kerry James Marshall borrows from the mood and imagery of 19th century Southern Romanticism—a literature full of horror and the grotesque, featuring slaves as the perennial Other—and links them to the most famous brand name in the Gothic novel. What that produces is *Bride of Frankenstein*, from 2009, a fierce emblem of fear and desire, a monumental woman who stirs up notions of black sexuality and the anxieties it has sometimes aroused in white culture. The sultry chair at her feet stands in for both.

Like we said, even these days, the South has mystique to spare.

# Wellness

The Cleveland Clinic gives patients herbal capsules; Chinese doctors rely on home-brewed teas



## New Medicine. At one Ohio hospital, patients get herbs as well as drugs

By Alexandra Sifferlin/Cleveland

LORA BASCH, 59, SOMETIMES SUFFERS from poor sleep and anxiety. She's uncomfortable with the side effects of drugs, so she's tried acupuncture and magnesium supplements, but with only minimal success. After years of low energy, she went a different route altogether: *gui pi tang*, a mix of licorice root, ginseng and ginger meant to rejuvenate the body. Three months later, the Cleveland native is finally falling asleep at night, and she has more energy during the day. "The remedy is a huge relief," she says. "I have a more stable life."

Though herbal therapy has been practiced in China for centuries, it is still an afterthought in the U.S., in part because pharmaceutical remedies are usually easier to obtain. Now that's beginning to change: In January, the Cleveland Clinic opened a Chinese herbal-therapy ward. In the past three months, therapists at the clinic have seen patients suffering from chronic pain, fatigue, poor digestion, infertility and, in the case of Basch, sleep disorders. "Western medicine may

not have all the answers," says Daniel Neides, the clinic's medical director.

A certified herbalist runs the unit under the supervision of multiple Western-trained M.D.s. Patients must be referred to the clinic by their physician, who in accordance with Ohio law must oversee their treatment for at least a year. Executives at Cleveland say the clinic is the first of its kind to be affiliated with a Western hospital. "We're incorporating ancient knowledge into patient care," says in-house herbalist Galina Roofener.

Cleveland is starting modestly: its clinic is a single room with bright pillows, a tapestry, candles and a cot reserved for procedures like acupuncture.

**During my session, the herbalist reviewed my medical history, sleep routine, diet and even my spirituality**

The center doesn't take walk-ins and primarily sees patients with conditions that Western medicine has, for whatever reason, failed to remedy. "For something like acute pneumonia, Western antibiotics may be faster and more cost-effective," says Roofener. "But if someone has antibiotic resistance, we can strengthen their immune system."

All herbal formulas at the clinic are encapsulated for easy consumption. (By contrast, in China, patients are usually sent home with raw herbs to brew themselves.) The FDA doesn't regulate herbs and supplements, so finding pharmacies that can both supply them and still meet hospital safety standards was a top priority. After a lengthy search, the clinic tapped a Kaiser Pharmaceutical subsidiary out of Taiwan as well as a Chinese herb-specific compounding pharmacy in Massachusetts and California that specializes in custom blends.

The primary uncertainty in herbal medicine is the prospect of an unpleasant or dangerous herb-drug interaction, which is why the clinic requires herbalists and physicians to have joint access to patients' electronic medical records. To become an herbal therapist requires three to four years of master's-degree-level education in Chinese medicine and a series of certification exams in Oriental medicine, herbology and biomedicine.

As it happened, I was battling a cold when I visited the clinic, so I signed up for the \$100 consultation. Roofener spent 30 minutes reviewing my medical history, sleep routine, diet and even my spirituality—I was asked about what I practice and whether I meditate. She took my pulse Chinese-style: holding my wrists, she measured what she said were the multiple "pulses" of my organ systems. "Did you eat breakfast?" she asked. "The pulse on your stomach position is very weak." I had eaten half a slice of toast.

I left the clinic with my own herbal remedy: 80 capsules of a diverse mixture of ingredients ranging from *Lonicera* flower to mint leaf, with instructions to take two pills four times a day for 10 days. Though an over-the-counter drug usually does the trick for me, my symptoms were cleared on the herbs alone. Now if only I could find an herb to make me taller. ■

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# Pop Chart



Julia Louis-Dreyfus defended the much mocked "John Hancock" (who did not sign the Constitution) painted on her back for a politics-themed Rolling Stone photo shoot: "It is a birthmark," Zing!

A man wearing a Superman hoodie became a **real-life hero** after helping rescue a baby from a burning apartment complex in Dallas. "It felt real good," he said.

The Seattle Symphony will perform a classical rendition of Sir Mix-A-Lot's "Baby Got Back," this summer—sample lyric: "I like big butts and I cannot lie"—as part of a series celebrating Seattle-born musicians.



Bryan Cranston (as Walter White) **helped a teen boy ask a girl to the prom** by warning her, via video, to "tread lightly" if she refused.

**FESTIVE ATMOSPHERE** Tickets to the annual Coachella Valley Music and Arts Festival sell out quickly, but fans aren't the only ones jamming themselves into the Indio, Calif., blowout. The two-weekend event, which kicked off April 11–13 and continues April 18–20, is a prime spot for celebrity sightings, with the biggest names in music—like those pictured below—showing up on and off the festival stages.



1. Katy Perry, left, with British musician Blood Orange on April 13 2. Beyoncé showed up unannounced to sing with her sister Solange on April 12 3. Rapper Nas surprised fans by inviting Jay Z, pictured, to join him onstage during his April 12 appearance 4. Teenage superstar Lorde performed on April 12

# 7

## THE DIGIT

Officially the world's favorite number, according to a British math expert's online survey of 44,000 people. The reason: Its cultural significance and prevalence—think sins, continents, dwarfs and days of the week—throughout history.

## ROUNDUP

### Oh, Babies

Parents naming newborns often turn to famous figures: Caroline (Kennedy), Diana (Princess) and ... Khaleesi? According to the Social Security Administration, 146 babies were named for the *Game of Thrones* heroine in 2012. But she's not the only onscreen obsession to start a trend.

## QUICK TALK

### Kelis

The 34-year-old singer first hit it big in 2003 with a single called "Milkshake." In the decade since, she's diversified her menu with a stint at Le Cordon Bleu culinary school, a hosting gig for the Cooking Channel and a new album, out April 22. It's titled—what else?—*Food*. —LILY ROTHMAN

**Why Food?** Someone said to me months ago, "What's the name of the album?" As a joke, I was like, "Food." But as I said it I was like, *That is a good title. So no deeper meaning?* It's not some philosophical moment that I had. I think the idea is nourishment, and food and music are two of the most tangible things that we as people use to self-soothe. **And you've already sung about milkshakes.** I guess I'm just always thinking about food. **One of your earlier singles was called "Bossy," a word that some [like Facebook's Sheryl Sandberg] are now saying is used to dismiss assertive women. How do you feel about that?** I've been called bossy my whole life, and I've also been told that I would be a great leader, which I am. It never had a negative connotation to me. **So you're proud of your bossiness.** Absolutely. I'm extremely decisive, and that helps me be good at what I do, because I don't have a problem delegating. People make the mistake about bossy being catty. But I run five companies. I am the boss. Not in some weird rap way—I am actually an employer of people.

## ON MY RADAR

► **The Black Count** by Tom Reiss

"It's about the writer who wrote *The Count of Monte Cristo*."

► **HBO's The Newsroom**

"I love the beats of it."



## Willow

Entered the top 1,000 names list in 1998, a year after the debut of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*



## Ariel

Got a major boost from *The Little Mermaid* in 1990



AMAZING! AWE-SOME! BREATH-TAKING! HEART-STOPPING! MIND-BLOWING! OUT-OF-SIGHT! COOL! WOW! GROOVY! CRAZY! KILLER! BITCHIN'! BAD! RAD! GNARLY! DA BOMB! SHUT UP! OMG! YESSSS!

#### WORTH A THOUSAND WORDS

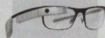
No, this is not a dog-free version of the floating phrase "doge" meme. It's a 2011 painting, *Amazing*, by artist Mel Bochmer, who showcases virtually every synonym for the word—highbrow, lowbrow, Internet-slang and more. It's just one in a decades-long run of works by the artist that demonstrate how words can be just as visually striking—and meaningful! eloquent! weighty! significant!—as images. Bochmer's work will be at the Jewish Museum in New York City starting May 2.



File under "not so hot": the California plant that makes Sriracha sauce has been labeled a public nuisance.

In honor of National Grilled Cheese Month—yes, it's a real thing—Chicago's Ritz Carlton has unveiled the "Zillion Dollar Grilled Cheese," a \$100 sandwich infused with 24-karat gold flakes.

After years of hype, the \$1,500 Google Glass finally went on sale to the public. For one day.



The Scrabble dictionary's first official addition in nine years is ... geocache. Kwyjibo, you were robbed.

#### VERBATIM

"Whenever a man shows emotion, I appear."

TAYLOR SWIFT, poking fun at herself—and her angst songs—during a surprise cameo on *Saturday Night Live*, as part of host Seth Rogen's opening monologue



**Aidan**

Popularity spiked (as did variant Aidan) after *Sex and the City's* Carrie started dating someone with that name, in 2000



**Isabella and Jacob**

The most popular baby names in 2009 had roots in the first *Twilight* film



**Korie**

Popularity increased 89% in 2013 thanks to the *Duck Dynasty* wife, per BabyCenter.com



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## Living My Best Herbalife

I had no idea what it was. But I was determined to sell as much of it as I possibly could



I LOVE WHEN billionaires fight, because they do it with money, which

is the third best way to fight, after Jell-O wrestling and dating your ex's best friend. So I got very interested when hedge-fund manager Bill Ackman bet \$1 billion that Herbalife is a pyramid scheme and Carl Icahn, who hates him, argued that it so totally isn't and set out to prove it by buying \$1 billion worth of the company. To put that in terms non-Wall Street people can understand, it means that whatever Herbalife is, there is more than \$1 billion of it.

Ackman, after lobbying Congress, persuaded the FTC to investigate the company and has posed one question to audiences that I find very convincing: Have you ever bought a product from Herbalife? Almost all of them say no. I too have never bought anything, or met anyone who bought anything, from Herbalife. Then again, I've never met anyone who bets \$1 billion on companies. So I decided to try not only using/eating/drinking/smoking/driving/watching Herbalife, depending on what it is, but also selling it.

**I started on Redondo Beach** in Los Angeles, where I met Herbalife wellness coaches Mark and Jill Addy, who are impossibly good-looking and drive a BMW, which made me both interested in Herbalife and pretty sure it isn't a car.

We joined about 150 people on the beach, where we played dodgeball and did an obstacle-course workout before driving to a beautifully designed warehouse space for a "shake party." Music blasted, a few women danced, and we listened to a speech about nutrition, just like at any other party.

Then I found out what Herbalife is: its main product is a delicious, very sweet protein shake. I still didn't know if Herbalife was a pyramid scheme, but I felt pretty sure it was a cult. I could tell because as soon as I'm around that positive cult energy, I want to join; it's a problem I've had at Burning Man, Google and meetings of people who are sticking with print journalism.

So I told Mark to sign me up as a tea and shake salesman so I could start calling people. He told me it wasn't that easy. "You know how hard it is to convince someone to lose weight? It's miserable," he said. Instead, I had to get my own results and share my experience. It was only when I went home that I realized what they were selling me.

For \$59.25, I could become a distributor and get 25% off my \$39.10 monthly canister of shake powder, which I could then sell at full price. There were also a lot of dubious-sounding Herbalife supplements I could sell, such as Relax Now, Sleep Now and Tang Kuei Plus for PMS. My lovely wife Cassandra has

50 kinds of herbal tea from Whole Foods with similar names. And I worried that I was joining a company where most buyers aren't like the people I met on the beach but instead are low-income people who pay \$5 a day for their drinks at storefront nutrition centers. At one, I saw a toddler sucking a shake from a bottle. If there were a pyramid, she would definitely be at the bottom.

**Most of the distributors I** met started off by selling to their parents, so I called my mom and casually mentioned that I was drinking a delicious mint-chocolate-chip Herbalife shake. My mom

sighed. Apparently, a friend of hers had gotten to her before I did and focused on the making-money part instead of the minty-goodness part. Also, a neighbor had tried to sell her Amway, and another friend tried to sell her Longaberger baskets. The reason this keeps happening to my mom is that she has this horrible habit of listening to people when they talk.

Then I remembered that in the 1970s, my mom started a company called Plants Alive. She'd grow plants in our basement, persuade people to invite their friends to host a party for their friends and then drive over in a station wagon filled with plants to tell them about how much better their lives would be if they transformed their house into a fun maze where they were always ducking around plants hanging from the ceiling in crocheted nets. The host got 20% of all sales, but—and this may have been the flaw that kept Plants Alive from IPOing—they had to spend that money on plants.

I asked my mom if her business had been, in fact, a pyramid. "No! People came because they loved plants!" she said. I'm sure that's true. But it's a whole lot more likely that people like to lose weight by eating sweetened, flavored soy powder that gives them 20% of their daily molybdenum needs. I'm going long on Herbalife. At least until I finish all these canisters of shake powder in my garage. ■



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# 10 Questions



In Firth's first professional gig, in 1983, he took over a stage role from Daniel Day-Lewis

## Academy Award winner **Colin Firth** talks about history, the horror of naked co-stars and that wet-shirt Darcy thing

**In your new movie *The Railway Man*, as in *The King's Speech*, you play a historical figure. Is that your favorite kind of role?**

Not necessarily. A good story is a good story. This one's personal. It's not trying to capture the whole of the fall of Singapore or the building of the "Death Railway." It's one man's experience. I think a veteran's story will probably always be interesting because it will be an experience very distant from mine. It becomes my job to understand it as best I can and hopefully relay something of it. I like my job when it's just there for cheap laughs, but occasionally an experience like this makes you feel there's some substance.

**This movie looks like a love story. But really, it's about a prisoner of war, Eric Lomax. Are you tricking people with your romanticism?**

I think that's what Patti Lomax felt when she met Eric. Like most people, she didn't know much about the Thailand-Burma Railway. She met a charming, eccentric, rather brilliant individual who proved to be profoundly complicated and damaged.

**Your co-star Stellan Skarsgård was in *Mamma Mia!* with you. Did you reprise any Abba?**

I expected it to happen at any moment. It's very hard to look at Stellan and not see him in Lycra. Actually, the last time I'd seen Stellan on a film set, he was naked. So if there was

a haunted look in my eyes, it wasn't because I was contemplating the war in Asia. It was because I'd seen horrors already beyond imagination.

**Why do you always play emotionally repressed guys?**

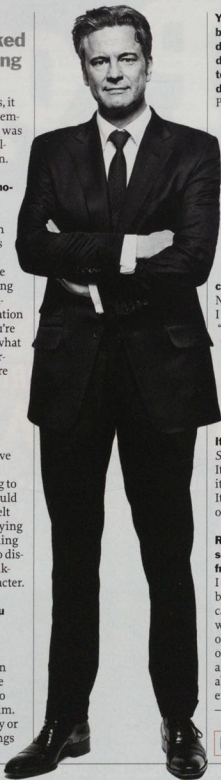
It probably comes across like that. I think there's an immense drama in things being held back and hidden and unspoken. I'm the go-to guy when you're doing something in that convention. But also, communication is never perfect. What you're hearing isn't necessarily what I'm imagining you're hearing. That interests me more than repression.

**Your parents were academics. Was that life ever tempting to you?**

Certainly. I just would have had to have been better at school. I remember saying to my father in my 30s, "Should I go back to college?" He felt that it wouldn't be as edifying as what I was already finding myself doing. I was able to discover Jane Austen by speaking the words of her character.

**Speaking of which, did you keep the wet shirt from *Pride and Prejudice*?**

No. That shirt's been auctioned off more times than is actually feasible. For the sake of continuity it had to look like I'd been for a swim. The shirt was barely soggy or clinging or any of the things it's mythologized to be.



**Your career has been boosted by your reputation for dreaminess. Were you born dreamy, did you have to work to be dreamy or did you have dreaminess thrust upon you?** Perhaps it's being thrust upon me now. It's always in a context. There are so many people we thrust dreaminess upon who might not get noticed in the street. I think people will find somebody appealing in a film or story if someone else finds them appealing.

**So, are you tired of being the thinking woman's crumpet?**

No. I don't get it at home. I have a son. He might go, "Oi, thinking person's crumpet, have a shave. We're going to the football." As time ticks on, it's something I appreciate more.

**Your wife's Italian. Do you have a favorite word in Italian?**

*Stronzo* is a wonderful word. It means "a piece of sh-t," but it's more specific than that. It means "a floating piece of sh-t."

**Reader question: What do you see yourself doing 10 years from now?**

I always imagined I'd move beyond this rather infantile career choice. By this point I would have become a virtuoso on a musical instrument or written novels or become an astronaut. But I'll probably be doing some version of exactly what I'm doing now.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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